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THE DIALECT

OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF

SCOTLAND:

ITS

PRONUNCIATION, GRAMMAR, AND HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

WITH AN APPENDIX

ON THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE GAELIC AND LOWLAND SCOTCH, AND THE DIALECTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE LOWLAND TONGUE.

AND A LINGUISTICAL MAP OF SCOTLAND.

BY

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION *(for arrangement see commencement)*	1
PRONUNCIATION—General characteristics	93
'Visible Speech' Alphabet	99
Vowels	103
Diphthongs	113
Consonants	118
Unaccented Syllables and Terminations ...	132
Scotch pronunciation of English	139
Phonetic relation between Modern Scotch and Anglo-Saxon	140
,, and English	144
GRAMMAR—Nouns	150
Adjectives	166
Pronouns	187
Verbs	199
Adverbs	226
Prepositions	228
Conjunctions	230
Interjections	230
APPENDIX—Present limits of the Gaelic	231
Dialects of Lowland Scotch	237
Specimens	240
INDEX of Subjects and Words specially referred to ...	249

PREFACE.

The local dialects are passing away: along with them disappears the light which they are able to shed upon so many points in the history of the national tongue that supersedes them, and the contributions which they, more than artificially trimmed Literary idioms, are able to make to the Science of Language, whether in regard to the course of phonetic changes, or the spontaneous growth of natural grammar. They are passing away: even where not utterly trampled under foot by the encroaching language of literature and education, they are corrupted and arrested by its all-pervading influence, and in the same degree rendered valueless as witnesses of the usages of the past and the natural tendencies of the present.

These pages attempt to photograph the leading features of one of the least-altered of these dialects, that of the Southern Counties of Scotland, and, with this as a basis, to illustrate the characteristics of that group of dialects descended from the old 14th century "Inglis of the Northin lede," which under the names of Northern English and Lowland Scotch, still prevail in more or less of their original integrity from the Yorkshire dales, to the Pentland Firth. Farthest removed from Celtic contact, and from the influence of the literary English, the Northern tongue has in the south of Scotland retained more of its old forms than elsewhere, and so far as concerns its vocabulary, and grammatical structure, affords almost a living specimen of the racy idiom in which Hampole and Barbour, at opposite extremes of the Northern-Speech-land, wrote five centuries ago. Its pronunciation has of course changed since then, but with a consistent course and definite direction; and its system of sounds is still of interest, showing in actual operation, the processes by which the

old guttural *-gh, -ch,* has sunk into the *-f* and *-w* of modern English, and that by which the long *ī* and *ū* in so many of the Teutonic tongues have from simple vowels, become the diphthongs in English *mine, house,* German *mein, haus,* Dutch *mijn, huis.*

As the history of the Lowland Scotch division of the Northern tongue, and its relations to the adjacent dialects in England, have been the subject of much wild theory and but little research in the direction whence light was to be obtained, the Historical Introduction has been made especially full and complete.

The spelling employed to represent Scottish sounds will probably be objected to in many points by Scotchmen, who would prefer *our shoon,* to *oor schuin.* I have no quarrel with their taste; when they give specimens of the speech heard around them, they may choose what symbols they please, provided they only explain what sounds their symbols mean. My own aim has been truth and distinctness. Spelling is only a means (a cumbrous one at best) to an end: the written forms so often misnamed *words,* are but conventional signs of the *real words,* the *spoken sounds* for which they stand. To convey to the reader's ear and mouth, by the circuitous medium of the eye, a clear and correct idea of the real word, is the first use of spelling. At the same time, no student of a language can be insensible to the associations of the "historical spelling" which has grown up along with its spoken forms, nor will he willingly discard the drapery with which it was clothed in earlier times, and which in so many cases is our only guide to the living organism which once breathed within. Still in dealing with a living dialect of the 19th century, one cannot always do justice to its own form and spirit by confining it to the winding sheet which decently enough envelopes the dead language of the 16th. If the spelling used, with help of the key and account of the pronunciation, succeed in giving an idea of the living words to those who never heard them spoken, it will fulfil its purpose. Of course in quoting the ancient language, where the spelling is the only guide we have to the words, care has been taken faithfully to preserve their original written forms; the quotations are, wherever possible,

from the editions of the Early English Text or Philological Society, or of such conscientious editors as Dr. David Laing, and in most other cases from the original MSS. or editions. Only in cases of importance are references to the actual passages given; where the point in question was the ordinary usage to be found on every page of a work, it seemed unnecessary to give reference to page and line.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

Mill Hill, Middlesex, N.W.,
March, 1873.

ERRATA.

Page 2, Note 1, l. 4, *for* some centuries *read* a century.
,, 10, ,, 40, ,, a few ,, few.
,, 39, ,, 4, ,, allånely ,, allanerly.
,, 54, ,, 30, *after* left-handed, *add* *partan*, a crab.
,, 74, ,, 1, ,, oy s ,, oy^{r}s.
,, ,, 37, *dele* tartan (this word being of French origin and unknown to Celtic).
,, 99, In the "Glides" *for* i, J. *read* *i*, J.
,, 113, ,, 4, *for* *löcke* ,, *Böcke.*
,, 126, ,, 12, ,, husiz ,, HUSiz.
,, 147, ,, 47, ,, road ,, rode.
,, 195, ,, 20, ,, owms ,, rowms.
,, 202, ,, 1, ,, the past *ai* ,, the past *ui.*
,, 205, Note 1, l. 2, ,, *gie* ,, *gis.*

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

§ 1. *Changes in the application of the words Scot and Scottish* 1
§ 2. *In what sense the Lowland tongue is called Scottish* 4
§ 3. *Its early history, not the history of Scotland, but of the Angles of Northumbria* 5
§ 4. *The country south of the Forth from the Angle settlement to its union with Scotland* 6
§ 5. *The language south of the Firths originally Welsh* 15
§ 6. *An Anglo-saxon dialect older in the south of Scotland than in most parts of England* 16
§ 7. *It thence spread northward and westward over the original Scotland* . 19
§ 8. *Early remains — the Ruthwell Cross — already exhibits northern characteristics* 20
§ 9. *Scanty materials from the* 10*th to the* 13*th century* 22
§ 10. *The Scandinavian influence* 24
§ 11. *Language of Scotland from the* 14*th century divisible into* three *periods* 28
§ 12. *The* Early *Period—identical with old Northern English—Specimens* . 29
§ 13. *Known only as* English *to those who used it* 40
§ 14. *When and how it began to be called* ~~Scotch~~ Scotch, Scots . 43
§ 15. *The* Middle *Period — its characteristics — the Celtic influence — the French element — the Classical element—Specimens* 49
§ 16. *The Reformation and English influence* 65
§ 17. *Decay of Scotch as a literary language* 71
§ 18. *The* Modern *Period—popular poetry—conventional spelling—fails to represent the living speech* 74
§ 19. *The spoken language—exists in several dialects—their classification* . 77
§ 20. *The dialect of the Southern counties—its area—its peculiarities and their origin.* 80

§ 1. The words Scot and Scottish have passed through important revolutions in signification since they first appeared in history. Originally applied to inhabitants of the country now called Ireland, they included in the eighth century, and for some centuries previous, a portion of the inhabitants of North Britain, to whom all accounts concur in ascribing an Irish origin, and whose territory lay along the west coast of Alban, beyond the Firth of Clyde. At that period the terms Scot and Scottish

found their usual correlatives in Pict and Pictish, names applied to the race and language which prevailed on the east side of the Island, as far south as the Firth of Forth—perhaps somewhat farther. The *quæstio vexata* of the ethnological relations between the Scots and Picts does not here concern us, and we have only to notice that, when, in the middle of the 9th century, the Scottish ruler succeeded also to the Pictish throne, he retained his original title of King of the Scots, the latter word gradually[1] acquiring a corresponding extension of meaning, so as to embrace the inhabitants of the whole country north of the Forth, or Scottis-wath (*Mare Scoticum*), which, as the territory subject to the king of the Scots, came in the 10th century to be spoken of by the Angle writers as Scot-land. Scot and Scottish were now opposed to Angle and English,[2] terms embracing the Teutonic tribes who already occupied the greater part of the present England, as well as the southern part of what is now Scotland, as far as the Forth; the terms Scottish and English having thus an ethnological or linguistic value.

Even after the territory south of the Forth had, through the Northumbrian and Saxon alliances of the Scottish kings, become part of their dominions, it does not appear that it was included in *Alban* or *Scotland*. It was an outlying province of Saxonia or England (ethnologically, if not politically), over which the king of the Scots held dominion, much as, in later times, kings of England held sway over large parts of France. Thus, so late as 1091, we are told by the Saxon Chronicle, that when King Malcolm learned that William Rufus was advancing against him with an army, he proceeded with his army out of Scotland, into Lothian in England, and there awaited him (he fór mid hys fyrde ut of Scot-lande into Loðene on Engla-lande and þær abád). The simple and natural meaning of these words, which partisan writers have displayed much ingenuity in explaining away, is confirmed by the oldest Scottish laws, which show that, even a century later, Lothian was still considered "out of Scotland." In those laws Stirling is spoken of as a town on the frontier of Scotland, and provision is made as to the mode to be adopted by an "inhabitant of Scotland," *i. e.* a dweller north of the Firths, when he had to make a seizure or distraint, "ultra aquam de Forth."[3]

[1] Gradually; for the name Pictavia continued to be applied to the eastern part of the kingdom, and its inhabitants to be called Picts for some centuries later.

[2] These are, of course, the English names: the Scotish equivalents of *Scotland*, *Scottas*, *Englaland*, *Engle*, were *Alban*, *Albannaich*, *Sasunn*, *Sasunnaich*, latinized *Saxonia* and *Saxones*. The Teutons called themselves *Engle* or *Angles*, the Celts knew them as *Sasunnaich* or Saxons; the Scots called themselves *Albannaich*, the Angles knew them as *Scottas* or Scots.

[3] And all þai þat wonnys beyhond Forth, as in Lothyane or in Galloway, or in ony oþir place, sall ansuer þe challangeouris of Scotlande (calumpniatoribus de Scocia *i.e. the accusers from Scotland*) at þe end of vj wolkis daye, at þe brig of Striveling throu þe for-

Moreover, Lothian and Galloway, as well as the Bretts or Welsh of Strathclyde, long retained their special laws as distinct from the laws of Scotland,[1] and these the king of the Scots bound himself to abide by and preserve. The charters of David I., Malcolm IV., and William the Lyon, were addressed to all their subjects, Normans, English, Scots, Galwegians, and Walenses, or Welsh of Clydesdale; and the same ethnical elements are distinguished by contemporary chroniclers as composing the army of David at the battle of the Standard.

Under the succeeding sovereigns of the line of Malcolm, down to Alexander III., the "English," that is to say, the Anglo-Saxon-speaking portion of their subjects, became ever the more important and predominant, and that with which the reigning line became more and more closely identified, and, as a consequence, the country south of the Firths, if not strictly Scotland,[2] became, at least, the most important possession of the King of Scots. For exactly as the royal house adopted the language, and became identified with the sympathies and fortunes of its Anglo-Saxon territories, it lost the sympathies of its own ancient kinsmen, and the allegiance of its early cradle land; so that of the descendants of the Scots, Picts, Welsh, Galwegians, English, Normans, Flemings, and Northmen, out of which arose the Scottish nationality, the only section over whom the king of Scots no longer ruled was the Scots themselves—those Celtic clans of the north and west who, from the days of Edgar to those of James III., ignored the authority, and defied the arms of the

sayd assise. And all þai þat wonnys on þe north half þe wattir of Forth, *in Scotlande*, sall ansuer to þam on south half Forth, at that ilke terme, and þat ilke stedde.—*Assise Regis Willelmi*, III.

It is ordanit be þe kyng thru consail of his gret men at Striveling þat na man of Scotland aw to tak pund beȝond þe watter of Forth, but gif þat pund be first schawyn to þe schiref of Striveling. And quhen ony man takis a pund he aw til hald þat pund at Hadintoun be þe space of iii dayis for to se quha cumis to proffer a borgh for þat pund. *Item*, þai þat duellis beȝond Forth may with þe leff of þe schireff tak a pund in Scotland, and þat pund til hald iii dayis at Striveling. —*Ibid.* xxvii. (These and the following extracts are taken from the 14th c. vernacular versions given along with the original Latin in the Acta Parl. Scot. Vol. I.)

[1] "It wes jugit of Gilespy be al þe jugis als wele of Galowa as of Scotland."—*Assisa Alexandri II.* III.

Galloway þe quhilk hes speciall lawys.—*Ibid.* xiv.

[2] But by the reign of Alexander II. the name of Scotland had been currently extended so as to include Lothian and Galloway, for in 1249 similar ordinances to those quoted above were made, no longer between Scotland and Lothian, but between Scotland and England. In that year it was arranged "gif ony misdoar duellis in Scotland þat has mysdone by rubry wythin þe kinrik of Ingland," or the converse, the east marches were to answer at Camysfurd, the middle marches at Reuedeneburne or Jedwart ouerburne, Coquetdale and Redesdale at Kenmylispeth (Gammelspath), and "þe scheris of Carlile and Drumfres sall ansuere at Sulway efter þe lawis and custumys betuix þe twa kinrikis vsit." A commission had been issued by Alexander II. and Henry III. to trace the marches in 1222, when the Border line practically coincided with that still in existence.

Sasunnach sovereign who ruled on the banks of the Forth. It was reserved for the great struggle for the independence of the Scottish crown and nation to give to the words Scottish and English the political and geographical import which they now bear, as distinct from the questions of language and race; just as it was reserved for the wars between England and France to give a political and geographical definition to the terms French and English, which, for generations after the conquest, were used *in England* to distinguish the French-speaking descendants of the conquerors from the English-speaking descendants of the conquered; although both alike born in England, and both, in the eyes of their French rivals, English. The War of Independence, although it created the Scottish nationality of after times, was in its essence the struggle of the last remaining bit of Anglo-Saxonism to preserve its freedom from the Norman yoke; the Celtic population of Scotland, so far as they shared in it, ranked chiefly on the side of England. The Gaelic-speaking clansmen had never been reconciled to the Scoto-Saxon line of kings, founded by Duncan and Malcolm; a sovereign on the Thames was likely to leave them more freedom than a king on the Forth; and accordingly we find them, under the Macfadyans and Macdougalls, the Lords of the Isles, of Lorn, and Galloway, implacable foes to Wallace and Bruce, and formidable enemies to the Anglo-Saxon Lowlanders in their struggle for independence. Nevertheless, it was under the Scottish name and against the English king that the combat was fought and won; and its result was to extend, we might almost say to transfer, the name of Scot from the Gael of the north and west—who thenceforth ranked rather as Erschmen than Scotsmen — to the Angles of Lothian, of Tweedside, and Annandale,—men of the same blood and the same tongue as the Angles of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire.[1]

§ 2. It is in this latter or geographical sense that the dialect which forms the subject of this paper is called Scottish. Ethnologically speaking, the Lowland Scotch dialects are Scottish only in the sense in which the brogue spoken by the descendants of Strongbow's followers, or of the Cromwellian settlers, is Irish; or

[1] But the old feeling of a distinction between Scotia proper and the country south of the "Scottis Se" did not at once die out. In a dim indefinite form it lingered in the reign of James II., nearly a century and a half after the War of Independence, when laws applicable to the entire "kingryk" still stated *expressis verbis* that they were valid for both sides of Forth.

Acta Parl., James II., 1440. The samyn day it is ordanit at þe Justice on þe south side of þe Scottis se ꝛt alsua on þe north side of þe Scottis see sett þare justice airis ꝛt hald þaim twiss in þe ȝere as aulde use & custum is.

Ibid., 1449, it is ordained "at þe kingis liegis in all placis throu oute þe realme haf power to by and sell vitall at þare likyne bath on þe north half and south half of forth;" which probably finally repealed the old statutes interfering with a man of Scotland having dealings south of Forth, and *vice versâ*.

in which the Yankee dialect of the descendants of the New England Puritans is American—in other words, they are not Scottish at all. They are forms of the Angle, or English, as spoken by those northern members of the Angle or English race who became subjects of the King of Scots, and who became the leading race, and their tongue the leading language of the country; to which, however, another race, with whom the monarchy had originated, gave its name. More particularly they are forms of the Northumbrian or Northern English,—

"The langage of the Northin lede,"

which, up to the War of Independence, was spoken as one language, from the Humber to the Forth, the Grampians, and the Moray Firth; but which, since that war, or at least since the final renunciation of attempts upon the independence of the kingdom, has had a history and culture of its own, has been influenced by legal institutions, an ecclesiastical system, a foreign connection, and a national life, altogether distinct from those which have operated upon the same language on the southern side of the border. And yet, despite these diversifying influences, which have obtained more or less for five centuries,—despite the incessant warfare, the legacy of wrongs done and suffered, and "undying hate," which were entailed from father to son, on both sides, during the first half of that period, and the remembrance of which it has taken nearly the whole of the second half entirely to efface,—the spoken tongue from York to Aberdeen is still one language, presenting indeed several well-defined sub-dialects on both sides of the Tweed, but agreeing, even in its extreme forms, much more closely than the dialect of Yorkshire does with that of Dorset. It is the old phenomenon with which ethnology has continually to deal, of a community of name concealing an actual difference, a diversity of names disguising an identity of fact. The living tongue of Teviotdale, and the living tongue of Northumberland, would, in accordance with present political geography, be classed, the one as a Scottish, the other as an English dialect: in actual fact, they are the same dialect, spoken, the one on Scottish the other on English territory, but which, before Scottish and English had their political application, was all alike the Anglian territory of Northan-hymbra-land. The living tongues of the Carse of Gowrie, at the mouth of the Tay, and of Rannoch, at its sources, would both be viewed as dialects of one Scottish county, and their speakers classed under the common appellation of Scotchmen, while in fact they are representatives of two distinct linguistic families, more remote from each other than English and Russian, or English and Sanscrit.

§ 3. The early history of the Lowland Scottish, therefore, especially in the southern counties, is not the early history of Scotland, with which it came into contact only at a later period; but of the Angle settlement, state, or kingdom, of Northan-hym-

bra-land. In its original extent the Northan-hymbra-land—Latinized Northumbria—included the whole country occupied by the Angles north of the Humber, that is, the territory from the Humber to the Forth. The oldest division of this territory was at the river Tees, by which it was parted into the two provinces of Bernicia and Deira—the Bryneich and Deifr of the ancient British bards—which were now under the rule of a single monarch, now independent of each other; the seat of the Bernician ruler being at Bamborough, that of the sovereign of Deira at York. After the final separation of the two provinces, the name of Northumbria was retained by the northern province between the Tees and the Forth, until the cession of the district north of the Tweed to the King of the Scots, and the placing of the district between the Tees and Tyne under the jurisdiction of Durham, left the territory between the Tyne and Tweed, or the present shire of Northumberland, as the mutilated representative of the ancient Northan-hymbra-land. Cymraland, Cumbra-land, or Cumbria, the territory of the northern Cymry, the Gwynedd-a-Gogledd, or "Wales of the North" of Aneurin, stretched from the Firth of Clyde to Morecambe Bay; but after Strathclyde and the territories adjacent had been annexed to Scotland, the name of Cumberland became restricted to the fragment south of the Solway. It is necessary to distinguish carefully these varying applications of the names of Northumberland and Cumberland; and especially not to confound the ancient territories with the modern English counties, which are the mere stumps of the original provinces, after the kings of England and Scotland had successively cut off and appropriated their northern and southern extremities, and England, as the stronger power, finally absorbed the remainder.

§ 4. The date at which the Teutonic invaders first appeared in the north has not been accurately determined. There seems good reason for believing that, before the abandonment of the country by the Romans, they aided the Picts and Scots beyond the Northern Wall in their attacks upon the Romanized provinces, and shortly after that event they appear as permanent settlers. According to Nennius, shortly after the landing of the Saxons in Kent, Octa and Ebissa, the son and nephew of Hengist, crossed the North Sea with forty *ciules*, and having devastated the Orkneys, and sailed round the land of the Picts, they came and seized several districts below the Forth (*Mare Fresicum*, which he describes as forming—in his day—the boundary between the Saxons and Scots) as far as the confines of the Picts. According to the tradition preserved by Fordun, they came at the invitation of Drust or Drostan, the Pictish king, a statement which tallies with Bede's account of a league between the Saxons and Picts. William of Malmesbury, who wrote at a much later period, in the midst of the feudal notions of his age, states, that

having in several conflicts overcome the natives who withstood them, they admitted the rest to terms of peace, but that they continued 100 years, all but one, in dependence on the kings of Kent, at the end of which their dependent state (*Ducatus*) was changed into a kingdom, Ida being advanced to the royal dignity. From all of which we may at least infer a Teutonic settlement, or series of settlements, slowly establishing themselves in defiance of native opposition, and, during a century of struggle and conflict, shaping themselves into something of a coherent state. The natives whom the invaders found in possession of the soil were not Picts or Scots, but Britons, of the same race as the inhabitants of the more southern parts of the island, who were known to the Angles as *Welsh*, and are shown by the contemporary poems of the bards, Taliesin, Aneurin, and Lliwarch Hen, to have acquired from the Romans no small degree of refinement and civilization. But centuries of peace, and dependence upon the protection of the Roman legions, had rendered them, like the inhabitants of all parts of the empire, ill-fitted to defend themselves against the ferocious assaults of their untamed enemies; and although under the leadership of Arthur, Urien, Owain, and other valiant princes, whose very personality seems afterwards to melt away in a cloud of poetry and romance, they maintained a gallant struggle against the "heathen barbarians,"—it was a losing struggle with a hapless issue. It was evidently during the early part of this hundred years' contest for the establishment of the North Angle State, that the twelve great battles recorded by Nennius were fought between the Saxons and the Britons under Arthur, the first of which was on the River Glen, and several at Dubglass, identified with "the strong frontier afforded by the waters of the Dunglass and Peass Burn," at the east end of the Lammermoors.[1] Had any genuine works of Merddyn or Merlin Caledonius come down to us, we might have possessed contemporary glimpses of this period, like those of the heroes, battles, and

[1] The above was written before the appearance of Mr. J. S. Glennie's valuable paper upon Arthurian localities, prefixed to the third part of the Early English Text Society's Merlin, 1869. While considering that there is room for wide difference of opinion as to the identification of special localities, as will be seen, I agree with him in thinking that all early authority points to the country south of the Forth as the historical scene of the Arthur Conflicts. Indeed, the whole passage in Nennius, relating to Arthur and the twelve battles — beginning with the departure of Ochtha to Kent, from the region near the northern wall where he had first landed, upon which Arthur fought against the enemy along with the British chiefs, he being himself commander-in-chief, and ending with the statement that while the Saxons were repeatedly defeated they continually sought fresh aid from Germany, *whence also they received the kings who led them, until Ida, the son of Eobba, reigned as first king of Bernicia* —so manifestly refers to the struggle in the north, that it is difficult to see how any other meaning could suggest itself, except to those who came to the subject prepossessed with the legendary Arthur history of the Middle Ages.

sieges of the generation that followed in the poems of the other three northern bards.

The Arthur period was over when Ida, the son of Eoppa, whom all accounts agree in denominating the first local ruler of the Northan-hymbrian Angles came to the throne in 547, a century after the arrival of the Saxons in Kent, and half a century after the "two ealdormen," Cerdic and Cymric, landed at Cerdices-ore, to found the West-Saxon kingdom. According to Welsh accounts, Ida, named by the Britons, *Flamddwyn*, the Flame-bearer, formed an alliance with one of the British chiefs, Culvynawyd Prydain, the son of Gorion, marrying his daughter, Bun or Bebban, distinguished in the Triads as one of the three shameless wives of Britain, and execrated by Aneurin in the Gododin as *Bun Bradwenn*, Bun the fair traitress. In honour of his wife, Ida conferred upon the place where he fixed his residence the name of Bibban-burh, the modern Bamborough, and long the most important fortress of Northumbria. He fought with the Britons in many battles, until his career was cut short and himself slain in 560 by Owain, son of Urien, prince of Reged, as sung by Taliesin in the *Maronad Owen Mab Urien*. It was apparently during the reign of his successors that the famous battle of Cattraeth or Caltraeth was fought, commemorated by Aneurin in the poem of the Gododin. On that occasion the entire British forces of the old province of Valentia were drawn up to defend a pass or position, apparently at one end of the northern wall, against the united attack of the Angles of Deifr and Bryneich, and the Picts. After seven days fighting, the Britons, who spent the intervals in mead-drinking and revelry, were, on account of their inebriation, defeated with terrific slaughter, so that out of 363 chiefs who wore the golden torque and led their men to battle, only three survived the fatal day, one of them being Aneurin himself, son of the prince of Cwm Cawlwyd, in Strathclyde. This great victory confirmed the power of the Angles in the east, as far north as the Forth, the Britons either becoming slaves, escaping to join the larger body of their countrymen in Wales, or retreating to the west, where British power made a stand for a while, and formed itself into a doubtfully independent kingdom, known as Cumbria, or Strathclyde and Reged, the capital of which was the fortress of Alclwyd, or *Petra Cloithe*, the Rock of Clyde, known also to the Scoto-Irish as *Dun-breton*, the fort of the Britons, now modernized into Dumbarton. The battle of Caltraeth is placed by Villemarqué about 578, by Mr. Skene in 596. It is somewhat curious that no direct record of an event which figures so prominently in early Cymric literature, should be found in the Anglo-saxon writers; however, the date 596 falls under the reign of the Northumbrian Æthelfrid, who, according to Beda, "ravaged the Britons more than all the princes of the Angles. For he conquered more territories from them,

either making them tributary, exterminating or expelling the inhabitants, and planting Angles in their room, than any other king or tribune." The Cymry in their straits called in the aid of Aedan, king of the Scots of Dalriada, who, passing south of the Firths with an immense army, joined in the struggle against the Angles. The war ended in 603 with the decisive battle of Dægsastan (understood to be Dalston, near Carlisle, if not Dawstone Rigg, in Liddesdale), in which the Britons and Scots sustained such a crushing defeat that the latter never again ventured south of the Forth, till after their union with the Picts in the 9th century.

For some years after the battle of Dægsastan, the attention of the Northumbrian rulers was directed more towards the south than the north; but when Eadwin ascended the throne in 617, he seemed destined to reduce beneath his sway the whole island. According to the Chronicle, "he became supreme over all Britain, the Kent-ware alone excepted," and in the north he firmly established the Angle dominion as far as the Forth, where he is said to have erected his strong fortress of Eadwines-burh, which was at a later date to become the far-famed metropolis of Scotland.[1] The reign of Eadwin is memorable for the adoption of Christianity by the Angles of the north, he and his people being baptized by Paulinus in 627. The Scots, Picts, and Strathclyde Britons had been Christians long before. Eadwin was succeeded by Oswald and Oswiu, during whose reign the Angle power was still further extended in what is now the south of Scotland, their supremacy being apparently recognized by the Cumbrian Britons. Witnesses to this extension of the Northumbrian area, at or shortly after this period, exist in the Cross at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, with a Runic inscription commemorating Alchfrid, son of Oswiu, who was associated with his father in the government about 660, and the Runic Cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, of the same high antiquity.

The reign of Ecgfrid was marked by still more ambitious designs, being occupied by incessant wars with the Picts, and efforts to extend the Northumbrian dominion beyond the Forth. In these he was at first successful, and gained such an extension of territory in the north, that it was deemed proper to form a new bishopric, the seat of which was fixed at Abercorn, on the upper estuary of the Forth, and, according to the Chronicle, A.D. 681, "Trumbriht was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and Trumwine of the Picts; for at that time they were subject to this country." In 685 "Ecgfrid made war upon the Pictish king Bredei, and

[1] It is not probable that Eadwin originated the name of Edinburgh. The fortress doubless existed before, under some such name as Eiddin, Caer-eidin, Dun-eiden, the "oppidum Eden" of the Pictish chronicler, which would be Anglicized Eden-burh (compare Romeburh, Cantwara-burh), and probably confounded with Eadwines-burh, in memory of Edwin's conquests.

resolved, in opposition to the advice of his nobles and the forebodings of his bishops, among whom was the famous Cuthbert, to invade the Pictish territory. He is supposed to have passed the Forth below Abercorn (at the modern Queensferry), and destroying everything before him, plunged into the forests of Caledonia. After laying waste the Scottish and Pictish capitals of Dunadd and Dundurn, he crossed the Tay into Angus. Bredei, the Pictish king, feigning flight, retired before the invaders till he had drawn them into the recesses of the country, where he attacked them in a narrow pass in the Sidlaw Hills, at Nechtans-mere, near Dunnechtan (now Dunnichen in Forfarshire), on the 20th May, 685. The Angle army was defeated with great slaughter, and the king was himself slain by the hand of Bredei. Ecgfrid's body was carried to Iona, and there buried; and few of his followers returned to Northumbria to tell of his defeat." As a result of their victory, according to Bede, who wrote 46 years after the event, "not only did the Picts recover possession of their land which the Angles had seized, but the Scots and even a considerable part of the Britons regained their freedom, which they continued to hold at the date of his writing; while a great number of the Angle race perished by the sword, were reduced to slavery, or driven to a hasty flight from the land of the Picts; amongst others, the venerable man of God, Trumwine, who had received the bishopric among them, withdrew with his companions from the monastery of Æbbercurnig, situated indeed in the Angle territory, but in the immediate vicinity of the Firth which divides the land of the Angles from the land of the Picts—and took his abode at Strea-næs-healh" (Whitby), where he remained till his death. This expulsion of Angle settlers from the land of the Picts, with Bede's careful distinction between what was Pict-land and what Engla-land, and his care to explain that Abercorn was not in Pict-land, though dangerously near to it, imply that, during the victorious period of Eadwin, Oswald, Oswiu, and Ecgfrid, numerous Angles had crossed the Forth and settled in the Pictish territory beyond. An attempt of the Angles in 699 to avenge their defeat was again repulsed, but in 710, Berhfred, the general of King Osred, defeated and overcame the Picts, slaying their king Bredei.

From this date, for more than a century, we hear of a few or no hostilities between the Angles and Picts or Britons, and the former held undisputed possession of what is now the south-east of Scotland, the elevated range distinguished as the Peht-land or Pentland Hills, indicating probably the north-western frontier. Along the Solway their dominions evidently extended farther west, since from the contemporary words of Beda, in closing his history, we learn that "in the province of the Northumbrians, of which Ceolwulf is king, there are now (A.D. 731) four Bishops, to wit,—

Wilfrid in the church of York, Æthelwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Hexham, and Pectelm or Peht-helm in that which is called Candida Casa (Whitherne)." On Pecthelm's death, in 735, he was succeeded by Frithewald, and at his decease, in 763, Pechtwin held the see till 776. Four bishops—Æthelberht, Baldwulf, Heathored, and Ecgred succeeded in due course. Not only do the names of these bishops indicate their nationality, but their existence proves that this part of the country was under the rule of the Northumbrian kings, for the rivalry between the Scoto-Irish and Latin-English branches of the church was so strong, that the expulsion of the ecclesiastics of either party followed as a matter of course when a territory changed hands.

But with the eighth century the tide of Northumbrian prosperity decisively turned. During the greater part of that century the North Anglian kingdom was torn and distracted by internal feuds and disputes for the crown, while its closing years brought the first instalments of those heathen hordes, whose devastations were continued with unabated fury for more than a century. The Danes were closely related kinsmen of the original Angle settlers, but being still heathens, their ravages were as terrible to the Christians of Northumbria, as those of Ida and his followers had been to the British. The final result of their invasion was to people the southern part of the Northan-hymbraland (Deira) with a considerable Danish and half-Danish population, forming an important element in the ethnology, and what was of more immediate consequence, constituting a barrier which long retarded the incorporation of Northumbria, and permanently prevented that of the country between the Tweed and the Forth, with the rest of England. During this period the Northumbrian kingdom relapsed into utter anarchy and dismemberment, and the territories beyond the Tweed and Solway would have fallen an easy prey to the attacks of a powerful neighbour on the north. But the final struggle for mastery between the Scots and Picts, north of the Forth, on one or other side of which the Strathclyde Britons were generally engaged, occupied all the energies of these tribes, and restrained them from taking advantage of the weakness of the Angles. After the union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth Mac Alpin in 843, "Saxonia" or Lothian was, according to the Pictish Chronicler, six times invaded and pillaged by him, in which incursions he is recorded to have "burnt the fortress of Dunbar, and spoiled the Abbey of Melrose." But he and his immediate successors made no attempt to retain possession of these districts, having enough to do in holding their own against the turbulence of their new Pictish subjects, the hostilities of the Britons of Strathclyde, and the inroads of the Danes and Norwegians, who, having now permanently occupied the east of England, the Orkneys and Caithness, the Isles and coasts of the West of Scotland and the Irish Sea, used these

as points of vantage whence to ravage and plunder, with indiscriminate fury, the territories of Saxons, Scots, and Britons. In the south, the rulers of Wessex had been gradually gaining that ascendency over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which converted the shadowy dignity of Bretwalda into the more tangible authority of king of England, but they also were engaged for nearly a century in a death struggle with the Danes, and it was not until the days of Edward the Elder, the worthy son of the great Alfred, that their hands were sufficiently free in the south to allow of their effective interference north of the Humber. In 924, Edward had reduced to submission the Danish and half-Danish rulers of the northern provinces, and received their allegiance, when, in the words of the contemporary chronicler, there "chose him for father and lord, the king of the Scots [Constantine III.], and the whole nation of the Scots, and Regnald [Danish ruler of York], and [Ealdred] the son of Eadulf [of Bamborough], and all those who dwell in Northan-hymbra-land, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh, and all the Strathclyde Welsh."[1] Thus early began that theoretic recognition of the supremacy of the Bretwalda, or king of England, which another Edward tried to reduce to practice, and which was only finally repudiated at Bannockburn. In the reign of Edward's successor, Æthelstan, Constantine king of the Scots, alarmed at the consolidation of the English dominion, combined, on several occasions with the Welsh, the Northumbrian and Irish Danes, against the Anglo-Saxon monarch, by whom Scotland was in consequence ravaged by land and sea, as far as Caithness. At length Constantine, "the hoary warrior," effected that great alliance of Scots, Danes, Britons, Welsh, and Irish, who invaded England in 937, and were defeated in the famous battle of Brunan-burh, which resulted in establishing more firmly than ever the Anglo-Saxon power in the north.

An event of great importance to the Scottish monarchy occurred in 945, when the English king, Eadmund, having overrun the principality of Cumbria or Strath-clyde, over which the English kings claimed authority as a dependency of Northumbria, but which was too remote to be worth the trouble of keeping, transferred the supremacy to Constantine's successor, Malcolm, on condition of obtaining his aid whenever required for keeping in order his troublesome half-Danish subjects in Northumbria. The rule of the king of the Scots was thus extended south of the Firths, which had hitherto been its boundary, and although the Strathclyde Britons offered a persistent resistance to their incorporation in the Scottish dominion, the union was fully consummated before the close of the century. In pursuance of this engagement we learn that when the Northumbrian Danes re-

[1] And eac Stræcled Weala cyning and ealle Stræcled Weallas. Chron. 924.

volted in favour of their native leaders, the Scottish kings repeatedly overran the territories of Lothian and Northumberland, in co-operation with the Anglo-Saxon monarch. Similar reasons to those which prompted the transfer of Cumbria, led probably also to the cession of the Northumbrian frontier fortress of Eadwinesburh, to Malcolm's successor, Indulf, the son of Constantine, in whose time, according to the Pictish chronicle (954-962), "oppidum Eden vacuatum est, et relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem."[1] While Northumbria was an independent kingdom, whose relations to the Picts and Scots were generally hostile, Edinburgh was of course one of its most important bulwarks; but to the English kings, separated as it was from the rest of their dominions by the two only half-subdued Northern provinces, it was probably better in the hands of their ally and "fellow-worker," the king of the Scots, whose aid they so often required against their own refractory Northumbrian subjects. Whether the cession was due to the policy of Eadred or the weakness of Eadwig is unknown, but it shews the direction in which the Scottish kings were now casting eager glances, and it paved the way for that possession of Lothian and Tweeddale, which proved so pregnant with mighty consequences for the language, the laws, the civilization, and whole history of Scotland. The circumstances of the latter transaction are not quite clear, but according to John of Wallingford and Roger of Wendover, the grant of Lothian, or that part of Bernicia north of the Tweed, was made by Eadgar, who died 975, to Kenneth III., son of Malcolm I., who began to reign 970, and therefore between those two years; the latter holding it in the same capacity as it had been held by the Northumbrian eorls, and engaging that the province should retain its own laws and customs, and its Angle or English language ("promittens quòd populo partis illius antiquas consuetudines non negaret, et linguâ Anglicanâ remanerent"), stipulations which we know were faithfully observed; this "English" of Lothian, as we shall presently see, having become the national language of Scotland, or "Lowland Scotch."

Shortly after this date began the second great series of Danish invasions, which, after devastating England for forty years, resulted in placing a Danish dynasty upon the English throne. During the utter helplessness and prostration to which the central power was reduced in this struggle, the remote provinces again relapsed into quasi-independence, the eorls of Northumbria acting for themselves without any reference to their nominal sovereign in the south. A quarrel, the grounds of which we do not know, broke out between the eorl of Northumbria and Malcolm II., king of the Scots; perhaps the former wished, with the help of the Danes, to reunite Lothian to the rest of his dominion, and rule once more over a united Northan-hymbra-land,—at any rate,

[1] Skene—Chronicles of the Picts, &c., Edin. 1867, p. 10.

Malcolm invaded Bernicia and laid seige to Durham, where he was defeated in a great battle, by Uhtred, son of eorl Waltheof. Whether, in consequence of this, Malcolm lost part of his territories south of the Forth is uncertain, but in 1018, the year after the accession of Cnut to the English throne, he renewed the war with Eadwulf, the brother of Uhtred, whom he defeated in a great battle at Carham. Eadwulf afterwards came to an agreement with Malcolm, and ceded to him Lothian for ever. The division of the old Northan-hymbra-land, lying between the Forth and Tweed, was thenceforth a portion of the dominions of the king of the Scots, who held it however, as it had been held by the eorls of Northumbria, and as he himself held Strathclyde, *i. e.* in his own right when he could maintain it,—when he could not, in dependence upon the king of England. In the latter capacity, when Cnut personally visited Scotland in 1031, "the king of the Scots, Malcolm, submitted to him, and became his man, but that he held only a little while; and two other kings, Macbeth and Jehmarc."[1]

The history of the Scottish kingdom during the 10th century exhibits the struggles of two dynasties, one of which was by marriage and sympathies more connected with Northumbria, and courted the English alliance; the other identified with the northeast, and more exclusively Celtic in its leanings. The Celtic or native line found its greatest representative in Macbeth, who, after the defeat and death of Duncan, ruled over the original Scotland, while the Angle districts south of the Forth remained attached to the family of Duncan. It was rather as a king of Lothian, conquering Scotland, that Malcolm Ceanmor, son of Duncan and the Northumbrian eorl's daughter, at the head of an Anglo-Saxon army overthrew Macbeth and recovered the crown of his fathers. Having spent the days of his exile with his uncle, Eorl Siward, in Northumbria, and at the Court of Edward the Confessor, Malcolm returned to Scotland the heir of a line of Celtic kings, but half a Saxon in blood, and wholly Saxon in tastes and sympathies, which were still more confirmed by his marriage, in 1067, with Margaret, sister of Edgar the Ætheling, heiress of the hopes and aspirations of the English Saxon dynasty. The southern names of the children born from this union are thus recorded by Wyntown (Book VII. iii. 30) :—

"Malcolm kyng, be lawchfull get,
Had on hys Wyff Saynt Margret,
Sownnys sex, and Dowchtrys twa.
Off þir Sownnys, thre of þa
Wes Edmwnd, Edward, Ethelrede,
Kyng of þire nowcht ane we rede;
Bot Edgare, Alysawndyre, and Dawy yhyng
Ilkane of þire wes crownyd a kyng."

[1] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031.

[2] In this and the subsequent quotations, expansions of the contractions of the MSS. are indicated by *italic* letters.

They form quite a contrast to the characteristic Celtic nomenclature of the Donalds, Kenneths, Duncans, Malcolms, and Ferguses, who had hitherto occupied the throne, and mark the turning point from which the Scottish royal family may be looked upon as an Anglo-Saxon line, and the history of Scotland that of its Teutonic element. This element continually increased, through the policy of Malcolm and his successors, in encouraging English settlers north of the Forth, affording refuge to the fugitives from the Norman conquest, and displacing the ancient troublesome chiefs by a nobility personally attached to the sovereign, of Saxon, Flemish, and Norman origin. The Celtic portion of their subjects, who had formed the original germ of the kingdom, did not submit to be thus ousted from the first place without many a struggle, and in the reign of Malcolm's immediate successors, it seemed doubtful for a while whether the Celt or the Saxon should eventually gain the predominance. The struggle was scarcely decided before the year 1100, and after fortune finally declared in favour of the latter, backed as they were by their kinsmen in England, the work of Saxonizing the seaboard country north of the Firths went on rapidly under Edgar, Alexander, and David I.; or, as Wyntown puts it:—

"Þe Saxonys and þe Scott*is* blude
In natyownys twa before þan ȝhud, (*i. e.* went)
Bot þe Barnetyme off þat Get
Þat Malcolme had off Saynt M*ar*gret,
To-gydd*ir* drw full vnyowne
To pass syne in successyowne."—(Book VII. iii. 163.)

§ 5. Having traced the course of events by which the Angles of Northern Bernicia became politically connected with the ancient kingdom of the Celtic Scots, and a leading element in the later Scottish nationality, we approach the question of the language. At the arrival of the Teutonic invaders on the east coast, the territory between the walls, now forming the south of Scotland, was like England, British; that is, Celtic, of the Cymric or Welsh division. The names of the princes with whom the invaders leagued or fought, of the principalities and places mentioned in the record of the wars, are all Cymric. It is in an ancient form of Welsh, and by the care of the Welsh bards, that the poems of Taliesin, bard of Urien and Owain, princes of Reghed, of Lliwarch Hen, son of Elidir, chief of Argoed, both divisions of ancient Cumbria, and of Aneurin, a native of Strath-clyde, and probably of Alclwyd, or Dumbarton, have come down to us with contemporary delineations of the great events of the struggle.[1] It was among their kinsmen in Wales or Brittany that all the three northern bards ended their lives; to Wales also that many

[1] Les Bardes Bretons.—Poemes du vi^e siecle, traduits pour la première fois, en Français, avec le texte en regard revu sur les manuscrits. Par le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarque, Nouvelle Edition. Paris, 1860.

of the Cumbrian Britons fled after the battle of Caltraeth. It is as Bretts and Welsh, moreover, that the inhabitants of Cumbria or Strathclyde are referred to by the contemporary Saxon chroniclers, and in the charters and proclamations of David I., Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. So late as 1305, it was enacted by Edward I., in revising the laws of Scotland, that "the usages of the Scots and Bretts should be abolished and no more used." Finally, it is to the ancient British or Welsh that we must still look for the etymology of the names of the great natural features of the country, "the ever-flowing rivers and the ever-lasting hills." It is to this tongue that we look for the derivation of the names of the Tweed, the Teviot, the Clyde, the Nith, and the Annan, the numerous Esks, Edens, Tynes, Avons, Calders, and Alns or Allans; that we explain Cheviot, and the other border hills, which were conspicuous enough to retain the names given by the earlier race. The eminences of the south country, when not *hills, fells, laws,* or *knows,* are *pens* like Pennygent, Pen-maen-maur, and the other Pens of Wales and Cornwall. In Teviotdale we have Penielheugh, Pen-chrise Pen, Skelf-hill Pen, and the obsolete Penango and Penangoishope; on the watershed between Teviotdale and Liddesdale, Pennygent repeats a southern name in its entirety. At the head of Eskdale rises Ettrick Pen; in the vicinity of Innerleithen in Tweeddale, the Lee Pen. There is no trace of any Gaelic element at this time in the south-east of Scotland; the occupation of Galloway and Carrick by a colony of Scots from Ireland took place some centuries later. A few monastic and missionary settlements of the Scoto-Irish church like Melrose have a Gaelic etymon; but these are isolated, and, from their very nature as exceptions, prove the rule. Many of the Celtic local names which occur along the southern borders of the Firth of Forth doubtless belong to the period when the Scottish kings first extended their authority over Lothian, and Celtic Scots were mixed with the Angles who occupied the district.

§ 6. An Angle or Engl-ish dialect has been as long established in the South-east of Scotland as in any part of England, with the exception, perhaps, of Kent. According to accredited accounts, the district was entirely abandoned by the Britons after the battle of Caltraeth, and even though we allow of a much less sweeping change of population, it is evident that Northumbria north of the Tweed and Cheviots was as completely peopled by the Angles as Northumbria south of these lines. In confirmation of this we find that the geographical names of the Southern Scottish counties, so far as they refer to the dwelling-places of men, or even to the smaller streams or *burns,* the hursts, shaws, morasses, and lower hills, are as purely Teutonic as the local names of Kent or Dorset. Such names as Coldingham, Redpath, Haliburton, Greenlaw, Mellerstane, Wedderburn, Cranshaws, in Berwickshire; Linton, Morebattle, Newbigging, Ed-

garston, Fernieherst, Rutherford, Middleham or Midlem, Langton, Eckford, Hassendean (Halestanedene), Hawick, Denholm, Langlee, Whitmoor, Whitriggs, Whitchesters, Wilton, Ashkirk, Essenside, Harwood, Wolfelee, Wolfcleuchhead, Swinnie, Swinhope, Todlaw, Todshaw, Todrig, Catcleuch, Oxenham, Buccleuch, Newstead, Stow, Drygrange, Darnwick, Selkirk, Oakwood, Hartwood-myres, Hindhope, Dryhope, Midgehope, Hellmoor, Thirlstane, Corsecleugh, in Roxburgh and Selkirkshires; Langholm, Broomholm, Muckledale, Westerkirk, Morton, Thornhill, Ruthwell, Lockerby, Canonby, Mousewald, Torthorwald, Tinwald, Applegarth, Elderbeck (the latter of which are Norse), in Dumfriesshire, are only specimens of the common names of towns, hamlets, parishes, and farms. The instant we leave the dales of the Esk and Annan, in Dumfriesshire, and cross into that of the Nith, we find ourselves in the midst of a foreign nomenclature, that of the Ersch of Galloway. Drumfries, Sanquhar, Auchencairn, Auchendarroch, Glencairn, Cairnkinna, Linncluden, Dalscairth, Darngarroch, Drumlanrig, Drummore, and hundreds of other examples of Dal, Drum, Auchen, Craigen, Bal, Glen, and Cairn, testify to the ethnological change. To return to the Angle area, it was from the banks of the Leader, a northern tributary of the Tweed, that the shepherd boy, Cuthberht, was called to be the apostle of Northumbria; it was over the area of Tweeddale, Teviotdale, and Ettrick Forest, as well as in Tynedale and Lindisfarne, that his labours of faith and love were performed, and that commemorative chapels rose to his memory. One of the most famous of these, to the history of which six chapters are devoted by Reginald of Durham,[1] stood by the Slitrith, a tributary of the Teviot, and among the worshippers we have recorded the genuine Anglo-Saxon names of Seigiva (Sæiȝifu) and Rosfritha (Rosfriþ), "duae mulieres de villâ quâdam Hawich dictâ ipsius provintiæ de Tevietedale." Dumfriesshire has, moreover, preserved to us, in the "Dream of the Holy Rood," inscribed in Anglo-Saxon Runes upon the Ruthwell Cross—perhaps the most venerable specimen of the language of the Northumbrian Angles, which ranks with the Runic inscription upon the Bewcastle Cross, commemorative of Alchfrid, son of Oswiu (ab. 664)—the genuine fragment of Cædmon, and the deathbed verses of Beda, as our chief, almost our only, data for the state of that dialect in the 7th and 8th centuries. The Ruthwell Cross is of course of Christian origin, but a relic of North Anglian heathendom seems to be preserved in a phrase which forms the local slogan of the town of Hawick, and which, as the name of a peculiar local air, and the refrain, or "owerword" of associated ballads, has been connected with the history of the town "back to fable-shaded eras." Different words have been sung to the tune from

1 "Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus." Ed. Dr. Raine, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. i.

time to time, and none of those now extant can lay claim to any antiquity: but associated with all, and yet identified with none, the refrain "*Tyr-ibus ye Tyr ye Odin,*" Týr hæb us, ȝe Týr ȝe Odin! Tyr keep us, both Tyr and Odin! (by which name the tune also is known) appears to have come down, scarcely mutilated, from the time when it was the burthen of the song of the gleó-mann, or scald, or the invocation of a heathen Angle warrior, before the northern Hercules and the blood-red lord of battles had yielded to the "pale god" of the Christians.[1]

It seems probable that although the Northumbrian territory extended to the shores of the Forth, the Anglian occupancy of Lothian was more fitful and precarious than that of Tweeddale and the basin of the Solway, and that it was not till a later period that the Teutonic dialect exclusively prevailed there. This idea is supported by the geographical nomenclature; such names as Dunbar, Aberlady, Drummore, Killspindy, Pencaithland, Dalgowrie, Dalkeith, Dalhousie, Roslin, Pennicuick, Abercorn, Cathie, Linlithgow, Torphichen, Cariden (Caer-eiden?), Kinneil, are mixed with the Teutonic Haddington, Linton, Stenton, Fenton, Dirleton, Athelstaneford, Ormiston, Whittingham, Gifford, Newbattle, Cranston, Duddingston, Broxburn, Whitburn, and, so far as they are ancient, indicate the continued existence of a British or Pictish population, among whom the advancing Teutonic made its way more gradually.[2] To this later prevalence of the North Angle dialect on the shores of the Firth, I also attribute, in part, the difference still existing between the pronunciation of

[1] The ballad now connected with the air of "Tyribus" commemorates the laurels gained by the Hawick youth, at and after the disastrous battle, when, in the words of the writer,

Our sires roused by "Tyr ye Odin"
Marched and joined their king at Flodden.

Annually since that event the "Common-Riding" has been held, on which occasion a flag or "colour" captured from a party of the English has been with great ceremony borne by mounted riders round the bounds of the common land, granted after Flodden to the burgh; part of the ceremony consisting in a mock capture of the "colour," and hot pursuit by a large party of horsemen accoutred for the occasion. At the conclusion "Tyribus" is sung, with all the honours by the actors in the ceremony, from the roof of the oldest house in the burgh, the general populace filling the street below, and joining in the song with immense enthusiasm. The influence of modern ideas is gradually doing away with much of the parade and renown of the Common-Riding. But "Tyr-ibus ye Tyr ye Odin" retains all its local power to fire the lieges, and the accredited method of arousing the burghers to any political or civic struggle is still to send round the drums and fifes "to play Tyribus" through the town, a summons analogous to that of the Fiery Cross in older times. Apart from the words of the Slogan, the air itself bears in its wild fire all the tokens of a remote origin. It will be found in the Appendix, accompanied by the first verse of the modern ballad.

[2] Upon consulting the map it will be seen that the Celtic names increase in number as we travel west. East Lothian is nearly as Teutonic as Berwickshire or Teviotdale; West Lothian or Linlithgow, which was on the Pictish frontier, has a very large Celtic element in its nomenclature; around Edinburgh the names are pretty well mixed.

Lothian (in the modern restricted sense of the word), and that of the Southern counties.

§ 7. As to the country north of the Firths, or Scotland proper, we find that the vulgar tongue, the *lingua Scotica*, was still Celtic in the reign of Macbeth. Still later, in the days of Malcolm Ceanmór, when "Queen Margaret in 1074 caused a council to be convened to inquire into the abuses which were said to have crept into the Scottish church, it was found that the clergy could speak no language but Gaelic. As Margaret, who was to be the chief prolocutor, could speak to them only in Saxon, her husband, king Malcolm, who happened to know Saxon as well as Gaelic, was obliged to act as interpreter."[1] Gaelic continued to be the language north of the Forth down to the final defeat of Donald Bane, under whom the Celtic element made its final struggle for predominance in connection with the succession to the crown and the accession of Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret in 1097. Such was the effect, however, of the identification of the royal dynasty with the English-speaking portion of their subjects, and of the policy of Edgar, David, and their successors, in encouraging the settlement of Anglo-Saxons, Flemings, and Normans, by grants of land, charters, and privileges, that during the course of the two following centuries, the Teutonic dialect, hitherto confined to the district south of the Forth, crept northward along the coast line to the shores of the Moray Firth, and before the death of Alexander III. was apparently the spoken tongue of the greater part of the population, the Welsh having disappeared before it in Strathclyde, and the Gaelic being confined pretty nearly to what we still designate the Highlands, and to Galloway. There is no need to account for this change by the operation of any sudden and violent causes; the Celtic dialects of the north-east, and the British of Strathclyde, disappeared before the Anglo-Saxon tongue of the court, and education, just as at a later time the Erse of Galloway and Carrick, the British of Cornwall, the Irish of Leinster, died out before the English, or as in our own day the Gaelic of Perthshire, the Cymric of Wales, the Irish of Tipperary, are ever retreating backwards before the same advancing tide. The people remain, but with the change of language they lose the greatest of their distinctive marks, and in course of time merge their history in that of the country at large.

The name of Scotland, and the language now known as Scotch, were thus in their introduction and diffusion exactly the converse of each other. Neither of them indigenous to North Britain—the *name* was introduced from Ireland to the extreme west, and by a gradual movement eastward and southward, in the wake of the ascendancy of the king of Scots, attained its present limits in the thirteenth century; the *language*, introduced from the opposite

[1] Wright—History of Scotland, p. 33.

coast of the continent to the extreme south-east, extended itself westward and northward, till by the end of the same century it occupied something like its present area. Totally unconnected, and even antagonistic in their origin, the encroaching monarchy and the encroaching language met each other on the battle-furrowed banks of the Forth, when the kings of Scotland commenced their attempts upon Lothian. The struggle which ensued ended in a compromise. The Angles of Lothian and Tweeddale accepted the Scottish king and the Scottish name—Scotland and the king of Scots accepted the Angle tongue, and the Anglo-Saxon character. The sovereign ruled *as* the hereditary descendant of Fergus the son of Erc and the fabulous Gathelus—he reigned *because* he represented the feelings and sympathies, and was identified with the interests and national spirit, of his Anglo-Saxon subjects.

§ 8. Of the dialect of the North Angles before the tenth century, the remains are scanty. The inscription upon the Ruthwell Cross, the most certain specimen[1] afforded by that part of the Northanhymbra-land now included in Scotland, forms no inconsiderable portion of the whole. The following transcription of that fragment, chiefly after its latest and most careful editor, Professor Stephens (by whom it is attributed to Cædmon), along with the West Saxon version or paraphrase of the poem from the Codex Vercellensis, shews that already in the seventh century the Northern dialect was distinguished from the Southern by some of the chief characteristics which afterwards defined them.

The Ruthwell.	*The West Saxon paraphrase.*
On-geredæ hinæ	On-gyrede hine þa ȝeonȝ hæleð
God almeyottig	þæt wæs God ælmihtig
þa he walde	Strang and stiðmod
On galgu gi-stiga	gestah he on gealgan heanne
Modig fore	Modig on manigra gesyhðe
Alle men	þat he wolde mancyn lysan
Buga ik ni darstæ	Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte
.....	Ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eor-
.....	Rod wæs ic aræred [ðan.
Ahof ik riiknæ küningk	Ahof ic ricne cyning
Heafunæs hlafard	Heofona hlaford
hælda ik ni darstæ	hyldan me ne dorste
Bismærædu ungket men	Bismeredon hie unc

[1] A monumental cross at Friar's Carse, in Dumfriesshire, bears a short inscription, read as North-Anglian by Ralph Carr, Esq., of Hedgeley, Alnwick, who has devoted much attention to Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. See his paper, read before the Philological Society, in November, 1869. Mr. Carr also considers many of the inscribed stones of the N. E. of Scotland to be Teutonic. See his "Sculptured Stones of Eastern Scotland," Edin., T. and T. Clark, 1867; and paper on the Inscribed Stones of Newton Insch and St. Vigean's, in the Transact. of Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. vii., pt. 1, 1866-7.

The Ruthwell.	*The West Saxon paraphrase.*
ba ætgadre	butu ætgædere
Ik [wæs] miþ blodæ bistemid	Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed
Bi-goten of	begoten of þæs guman sidan
.....	syððan he hæfde his gast onsended.
Krist wæs on rodi	Crist wæs on rode
Hweþræ þer fusæ	Hwæðere þær fuse
fearran cwomu	feorran cwomon
Æþþilæ til anum	to þam æþelinge
Ik þæt al biheald	Ic þæt eall beheold
Sare ik wæs	Sare ic wæs
Miþ sorgum gidrœfid	Mid sorgum gedrefed
Hnag ic [hweþræ]	Hnag ic hwæðre
.....	þam secgum to handa
Miþ strelum giwundad	Eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod
A-legdun hiæ hinæ lim-wœrignæ	Aledon hie ðær limwerigne
Gistoddun him æt his likæs heafdum	Gestodon him æt his lices heafdum
Biheældun hiæ þer heafun....	Beheoldon hiðær heofenes dryhten.

Translation of the Ruthwell.

On-graithed him(self)	Out-gushed from [the hero's side,
God almighty	Since his ghost he had sent forth.]
When he would	Christ was on rood;
On the gallows ascend,	Howbeit there hastily (fussily)
Strong-of-mood before	From-afar came
All men.	Noble ones to him alone (?)
Bow I dared not	I that all beheld.
. . . .	Sore I was
[A rood I was reared]	With sorrows oppressed;
Up-heaved I the rich king,	Inclined I yet
Heaven's lord.	[To the hands of his servants.]
Lean I dared not!	With shafts wounded,
Men reviled us-two	Laid they him limb-weary;
Both together;	Stood (by) him at his lyke's head,
I [was] with blood bestained	Beheld they there heaven['s lord].

In the form *walde* for the southern *wolde*, we see the distinction between the northern *wald, wad*, and the southern *wold, would*. *Bi-heald* for *beheold*, and *darstœ* for *dorste*, are dialectical points of the same kind. The use of *ea* for *eo*, as *heafun* for *heofon*, heaven, *fearran* for *feorran*, and the use of *æ* for *e*, *miþ* for *mid*, and the prefixes *gi-* and *bi* for *ge-* and *be-*, are well-known characteristics of the Northumbrian glosses of the tenth century. But the most interesting point to be noticed is the dropping of final *n* from the inflections of nouns and verbs (galgu, buga, hælda, bismærædu, kwomu), also noted in the glosses, in which the Old North Anglian agreed with the Scandinavian and Frisian, rather than the Saxon, and anticipated the early loss of the noun and verb inflections by the northern dialect, seen in comparing the southern *thei loven to ben, we wolden gon*, with the northern *thai luf to be, we wald ga*.

§ 9. In the tenth century, or thereabouts, several interlinear translations or glosses of Latin ecclesiastical works were executed in a Northern dialect in England, especially a gloss to the Ritual of Durham, and two glosses of the Gospels, the Lindisfarne, or Durham-bóc, and the Rushworth,[1] the intimate relation between which suggests the existence of a currently recognized rendering of the Evangel in the Vernacular. A charter written at Durham[2] gives a specimen of the language, about 1100, and a few words in the native tongue in the Latin charters of David, William the Lion, and their successors, such as "cum *sacca* et *socca* cum *tol* et *them* et *infangtheefe*," answering to the "mid saca and socne, mid tolles and teames, and mid infangenes theofes" of the contemporary English charters; the terms *ut-were* and *in-were*, foreign and internal war, *tri-gild*, a penalty for cutting down trees, and a reference in defining the boundaries of properties to landmarks, known in the vulgar tongue as *þe stane cross*, *þe standand stane*, are contemporary witnesses of the dialect in Scotland.[3] The *Leges Quatuor Burgorum* (Berewic, Rokisburg, Edinburg, et Strevelin) and other of the early Scottish laws, have also embalmed in their Latin originals, some of which date to David I. numerous words and phrases of the vernacular speech, some with Latinized terminations, but others in their naked forms, intended to identify

[1] I do not include the Psalter (M.S. Cotton, Vesp. A. 1), seeing no grounds on which to consider it Northumbrian. I altogether fail to see the "close agreement in the general structure of its language with the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, and with the Durham Ritual," spoken of by the Surtees editor.

[2] The Charter of Ranulph, created Bishop of Durham 1099 (Hickes Thesaurus, vol. i. 149), contains some Southern forms as well as Northern. To the Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., Canon of Durham, I am indebted for the following fresh transcript of the original, correcting the errors of Hickes's text:—

R[anulf] biſceop ȝretes̄ wel alle his þeines ⁊ drenȝes of Ealondscire ⁊ of Norha*m*scire. Wite ȝe *þat* icc habbe ȝe-tyðed S̄ce Cuhtberht *þat* lond in Elredene, ⁊ all *þat* þær to be limpeð clæne ⁊ clacles. ⁊ Haliwareſtelle ic habbe ȝe-tyðed S̄ce Cuhtberht his aȝen into hiſ cyrce. ⁊ hua sua b[e]raues ðisses, b[e]raue Criſt hine þisses liuef hele ⁊ heofne ricef mirde.

In the oldest Lowland Scotch or Northern English this would be:

Ranulf bischop gretis wel alle his þaynes and dryngis of Yland-schire and of Norham-schire, Wyt ȝe þat Ik hafe tythyd to Sanct Cuthberht þe land in Ellerdene, and all þat þar-to belangis clene and clag-les; and Haliwarestele Ik hafe tythyd to Sanct Cuthberht, his awen in-to his kyrke. And quha sua bereuis [þame] of þis, Christ bereue hym of þis lyfis hele and hevyn-rikis myrd (*or* mirthe).

Hickes notices the words *drenges* (Dan. *dreng*, a lad, an attendant) and *clac-les* (Dan. *klage*, a complaint, charge) as Scandinavian, and wanting in the Southern Saxon, where the latter term would be *sác-leas*. Both are used by Scottish writers, *dryng* by Lyndesay, and *clag* as a law term, a charge or burden upon property. For *Ik* see Barbour: *Cursor Mundi* has *ic*. *Belimpes* might perhaps have been retained instead of *belangis* (the only verbal change); at least we find the simple *limpus* in the sense of *falls to*, *pertains*, in the "Anturs of Arthur at the Tarne Wathelan" (ab. 1300), edited by Mr. Robson, for the Camden Society, in 1842.

[3] Quoted by Prof. Cosmo Innes—Introduction to Barbour's *Brus*, in Spalding Club series.

more thoroughly the subjects of legislation. Thus "Si quis verberando fecerit aliquem *blaa* et *blodi*, ipse qui fuerit *blaa* et *blodi* prius debet exaudiri," etc. In the 15th century translation, "Gif ony man strykis anoþir, quhar-thruch he is mayd *blaa* and *blodi*, he þat is mayd *blaa* and *blodi* sall fyrst be herde, etc. "*Stallingiator* nullo tempore potest habere *loth, cut*, neque *cavyll* de aliquo mercimonio, nisi infra nundinas quando quilibet potest habere *loth, cut*, atque *cavyll*," translated "Na stallangear (itinerant stall-keeper) may hafe na tyme loth, cut, or cavyll wyth a burges of ony maner of merchandise, but in þe tym of þe fayris, quhen þat ilk man may hafe loth, cut, and cavyll, wythin the kyngis burgh." The stalingiator may also have "*botham* coopertam" a covered buith. "Et sciendum est quod intra burgum non debet exaudiri *blodewite, stynges dynt* (a cudgelling), *merchet, herieth* (transl. here-gild, military-tribute, the heriot), nec aliquid de consimilibus." The widow of a burgess is to have left to her "interiorem partem domus que dicitur le *flet*;" among the personal effects of which the destination is fixed are "plumbum cum *maskfat* (mash-vat, *masking-fat* in Lyndesay's *Flyting*), *hucham* (a hutch, transl. *schyrn*, shrine), *girdalium* (the gyrdle or griddle)," etc. Further instances are found in the following expressions:—"Infantem clamantem vel plorantem vel *brai*antem," the chylde cryand or gretand or *brayand*; "Si in responsione negaverit *wrang* et *unlaw* et dicat, etc"; "post *woch* (A.S. woh, injustice) et *wrang* et *unlaw*"; "Non ut *husbandi* non ut pastores"; "forestarius habebit unum *hog*." So also among other terms we meet with *hamesokyn, iburþeneseca* seu *berthynsak*, explained in the translation as "berthynsak, þe thyft of a calf or of a ram, or how mekill as a man may ber on his bak;" *inboruche* et [*h*]*uteboruche* potestatem habens ad distinguendum, *cokestole, opeland*ensis, "ane uplandis-man," *schorlinges* (shearlings), etc., etc. So "fremd" do these terms look in the Latin texts, so entirely natural are they in the vernacular versions, that it is very difficult to realize that the Latin is the older by two or three centuries, and the conviction is forced upon one that there must have been an earlier vernacular in oral if not in written existence, which the scribes had in their mind, if not before their eyes, and which was drawn upon where the Latin would have been wanting in precision, or failed altogether to render a technicality.

But, with the exception of such isolated fragments, the history of the northern dialect is all but a blank for nearly three centuries, and that precisely at the period when the old Northanhymbra-land was being incorporated with the English and Scottish monarchies respectively; so that we have no connected data shewing the transition of the Old North Anglian into the Early Northern English of Cursor Mundi and the Scottish laws, such as those which enable us to trace the insensible passage of the classical Anglo-Saxon into the Southern English of the *Ancren Riwle*

and *Ayenbite*, or to inform us of the date at which the Northern tongue emancipated itself from the trammels of inflection, and assumed that essentially *modern* form which it wears in the earliest of these connected specimens. All we know is, that the grammatical revolution had already begun in the 9th and 10th centuries, and that the change was completed long before it had advanced to any extent in the south, so that when the curtain rises over the northern dialect, in England towards the close of the 13th century, and in Scotland nearly a hundred years later, the language had become as thoroughly uninflectional as the modern English, while the sister dialect of the south retained to a great extent the noun-, pronoun-, and adjective-declension of the Anglo-Saxon. The same phenomenon of earlier development has been repeated in almost every subsequent change which the language has undergone. The South has been tenaciously conservative of old forms and usages, the North has inaugurated often by centuries nearly every one of those structural changes which have transformed the English of Alfred into English as it has been since the days of Shakspeare. Hence, of two contemporary writers, one northern and the other southern, the Englishman of to-day always feels the former the more modern, the nearer to him—Cursor Mundi and Barbour are infinitely more intelligible, even to the southern reader, than the Kentish Ayenbite of Inwyt.

§ 10. The same deficiency of materials, in the period preceding the 13th century, renders it difficult to estimate the amount of influence exerted upon the Northern dialect by the Scandinavian, in consequence of the Danish invasions and settlements of the 8th and 10th centuries. In the opinion of the writer the present tendency is rather to over-estimate the amount of this influence. He sees reason to believe that the Northern dialect from the beginning diverged from the classical Anglo-Saxon in a direction which made it more closely connected in form with the Scandinavian. The chief points in which the language of the Ruthwell Cross, and the verses of Cædmon and Beda differ from the contemporary West Saxon, are the inflectional characteristics which distinguish the Scandinavian and Frisian from the Saxon and German division of the Teutonic languages. There seems ground, therefore, to regard many of the characteristics of the northern dialect which currently pass as Danish as having been original elements of the North Angle speech, due to the fact that this dialect was, like the Frisian, one which formed a connecting link between the Scandinavian and Germanic branches. Such characteristics would of course be strengthened and increased by the influx of Danish and Norwegian settlers, but the influence of these was necessarily at first confined to particular localities, and only gradually and at a later period affected the northern dialect as a whole. Cursor Mundi and Hampole have more of it than

the glosses of the 10th century, but Cursor Mundi and Hampole have little of it in comparison with certain modern provincial dialects of the north of England, such as those of Cleveland, Whitby, Lonsdale, Furness, and parts of Cumberland. In the county of Northumberland, and in Scotland, the Danish influence is apparently at a minimum, agreeing with the fact noted by Mr. Worsaae, that "the whole east coast of Scotland, from the Cheviot Hills to Moray Firth, is entirely destitute of characteristic and undoubted Scandinavian monuments." [1] As a consequence the Lowland Scotch of the present day represents Hampole and Cursor Mundi, and the Northern dialect of the 13th and 14th centuries generally, much more closely than those North English dialects, in which the Danish element, or what currently passes for Danish is more apparent. The use of *at* as the relative, of *til* for *to*, *thir* for these, and *waar* for *worse*, are common to the modern Scotch with the old northern writers. The use of *t'* or *'t* as the article, instead of *the* (t' master o' t' houses), of *at* instead of *to* in the infinitive (a sup o' summat at drink), of the form I *is* for I *am*, I *war* for I *was*, are unknown in Scotland. In general

[1] The Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by J. J. A. Worsaae, Lond. 1852, p. 217. Elsewhere the author says: "Extremely few places with Scandinavian names are to be found in the Scottish Lowlands, and even these are confined almost without exception to the counties nearest the English border. Dumfriesshire, lying directly north of Cumberland and the Solway, forms the central point of such places. Northumberland and Durham, the two north-easternmost counties of England, contain but a scanty number of them, and consequently must have possessed, in early times at least, no very numerous Scandinavian population. Cumberland, on the contrary, was early remarkable for such a population; whence it will appear natural enough that the first Scandinavian colonists in the Scottish border-lands preferred to settle in the neighbourhood of that county. On the S.E. coast of Scotland they would not only have been separated from their kinsmen in the East of England by two intervening counties, but also divided by a broad sea from their kinsmen in Denmark and Norway. Such a situation would have been much more exposed and dangerous for them than the opposite coast, where they had in their neighbourhood the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, inhabited by the Northmen, as well as their colonies in Ireland and the Isle of Man. . . . . The Scandinavian population in Dumfriesshire evidently appears to have emigrated from Cumberland over the Liddle and Esk, into the plains which spread westward of these rivers; at least the names of places there have the very same character as in Cumberland," p. 202–3. Mr. Worsaae then instances the names of *fell* (fjeld) and *rigg* (ryg) applied to hills, and the local names Thornythwaite, Treethwaites, Robiethwaite, Murraythwaite, Helbeck, Greenbeck, Bodsbeck, Torbeck, Stonybeck, Waterbeck, Hartsgarth, Tundergarth, Applegarth, Lockerby, Alby, Middleby, Dunnabie, Wyseby, Percebie, Denbie, Newby, Milby, Sorbie, Canoby, and the words *pock-net* (Isl. pokanet) and *leister* (Isl. ljóster, Danish lyster), fishing implements also well known in the Tweed and Teviot, and adds: "In the Lowlands the number of Scandinavian names of places is quite insignificant when compared with the original Celtic or even with the Anglo-Saxon names." I may add that the dialect spoken in the S.E. corner of Dumfriesshire and the adjacent corner of Roxburghshire, or Canobie and Liddesdale, is still quite distinct from that of the rest of these counties, and is rather that of Cumberland than of Lowland Scotland.

it may be said that the contributions which the Scotch has received from the Scandinavian affect rather the vocabulary than the grammar; numerous *words* passed from the districts in which the Danes settled into the Northern dialect generally; the grammatical inflections, particles, and formative affixes have not been so widely adopted. As an illustration of the caution which ought to be exercised before pronouncing a word or grammatical form to be of Scandinavian origin upon internal evidence alone, we may take the case of the relative *ăt* (the man *ăt* was here) for *that*. This is generally, if not universally, accepted as Scandinavian, as the same word occurs in Old Norse and the modern languages derived from it.

Old Norse Ek hefi spurt *at* þú hafir aldri blótat skúrgoð.
Færœese E hävi spurt *at* tú hevir aldri ofra til Afgudar
I have learned *at* thou hast never offered to idols.
Swedish Du wet, *att* jag sade, *att* jag hörde det
Danish Du veed, *at* jeg sagde, *at* jeg hörte det
You know *at* I said, *at* I heard that.

So far nothing could seem clearer than that the *at* of the English dialects is the Norse *at*. But there is another class of facts requiring consideration. In the Gaelic, although *th* is one of the commonest of written combinations, the sound is quite lost in the language as now spoken, its place being indicated by a breathing, or a simple hiatus. Thus athair, mathair, brathair, ceithir=father, mother, brother, *quatuor*, are pronounced a'air, ma'air, bra'air, kai'er. Cath, cathair (Welsh *cad, cader*), fathast, leth, are ca', ca'air, fa'ast, le'. Thighearn, thigh, Thomais (vocative of Tomas), Theurlach (genitive of Teurlach, Charles), are pronounced hee-arn, hee or high, homish, hairlach. Now the Lowland Scottish dialects, all along the Celtic border-line, or in districts where the Teutonic has only lately superseded the Celtic, have a tendency to drop the initial *th* of unaccented subordinate words and particles. *Aa'nk* or *aa'ink* for *I think* is generally diffused; and in Caithness we hear not only *at*, but *ee, ay, aim, an, air, are*, for that, the, they, thaim, than, thair, thare. In the West of Forfar and Fife, South of Perth, in Kinross, Clackmannan, etc., the article is regularly abbreviated into *ee* "ee haid ŏ ee toon, ee haid ee toon, pyt ee braid i' ee prêss" (the head of the town put the bread in the press).[1] After disappearing in Clydesdale and Lothian this peculiarity crops up again in Galloway, a district which was Celtic in the 16th century. Lest in these districts, and Caithness in par-

[1] The definite article *de, den*, has also been contracted into *e, æ*, in South Jutland, as e By, e Barn, e Bynder, e hele Hus, the town, the bairn, the farmers, the whole house (Det Danske Folksprog in Sonderjylland ved J. Kok, quoted in Introduction to Cleveland Glossary, p. xxiii.) At an earlier time the Norse *at* and *en* themselves were doubtless from the þat and þen (dat, denn) of the first Germanic occupants of the Scandinavian peninsulas, and perhaps by similar contact with a pre-existent language.

ticular, this peculiarity should be claimed as Norwegian (although it extends to words never so contracted in Norse), we have a conclusive example in the interesting dialect of Barony Forth, in County Wexford, Ireland. The baronies of Forth and Bargy were occupied by an isolated colony of Strongbow's followers in 1169, who have preserved almost to the present day a remarkable form of speech, being a very archaic stage of English (with verbal *-eth* singular and *plural*, as in Chaucer, the *ye-* prefix to past participles, etc.), modified in pronunciation and glossary by the native Irish, by which it was surrounded, especially in this matter of the aphæresis of initial *th*, as may be seen in the following passages:

Yn ercha an ol o' whilke yt beeth wi' gleezom o' core 'th our eene dwytheth apan ee Vigère o' dicke zouvereine, Wilyame ee Vourthe, unnere fose fatherlie zwae ure dai-ez be ye-spant; az avàre ye trad dicke lone yer name waz ye-kent var ee Vriene o' Livertie an he fo braak ee neckàr-ez o' zlaves. Mang ourzels—var wee dwytheth an Eerloane, as ure general haime—y'ast be ractzom o' hoane ye-delt t'ouz ee laas ye-mate var ercha vassàle, ne'er dwythen na dicke waie nar dicka.

Wee dwitheth ye ane fose daiez bee gien var ee gudevare, o' ee lone ye zwae, t' avance pace an livertie an wi' oute vlynch, ee garde o' generàl reights an poplàre vartùe.

In ever-each and all of which it beeth with joy of heart that our eyen looketh upon the Viceroy of thilk sovereign William the fourth, under whose fatherly sway our days are y-spent; as before you trode thilk land your name was y-known for the friend of liberty and he who broke the halters of slaves. Among ourselves — for we look on Ireland as our common home—you have by righteousness of hand, y-dealt to us the laws y-made for ever-each subject, never looking to thilk side nor to thilk (*i.e.* this nor that),

We look on you as one whose days be given for the well-fare, of the land you sway to advance peace and liberty, and without flinching, the guard of common rights and public virtue.

(From Address to the Viceroy, 1836.)

Mot w' all *aar* boust, hi soon was ee-teight
At aar errone was var aam ing *aar* angish ee-height
Zitch vezzeen, tarvizzeen, tell than w' ne'er zey
Nor zitchel n'e'er well, nowe, nore ne'er mey.

Ha-ho! be mee coshès, th'ast ee-pait it, co Joane;
Y'oure w' thee crokeèn, an yie mee thee hoane.
He *at* nouth fad t'zey, llean vetch ee man
Twish thee an Tommeèn, an ee emothee knaghàne.
(From a "Yola Zong.")

But with all their boasting, they were soon y-taught
That their errand was for them in their anguish y-heightened,
Such driving and struggling, till then we ne'er saw,
Nor such never will, no, nor never may.

Hey-ho! by my conscience thou hast y-paid it quoth John;
Give over with thy croaking, and give me thy hand.
He *that* knows what to say, mischief fetch the man
Twixt thee and Tommie and the emmet-hill (*knockan*)
(From an "Old Song.")

Aar was a weddeen ee Ballymore
An *aar* was a hundereth lauckeen vowre score.

There was a wedding in Bally-more
And there was a hundred lacking four score.[1]

[1] A Glossary (with some Pieces of Verse) of the Old Dialect of the English Colony of Forth and Bargy, County of Wexford, Ireland. Collected by Jacob Poole. Edited by W. Barnes, B.D. London: J. R. Smith, 1867.

To the Scottish philologer this dialect is of importance in more respects than one. Not only does the aphæresis of initial *th* illustrate the similar forms in some Scottish dialects, but the same (or a similar) Celtic influence which has changed the *hwo, hwose, hwat, hwan, hware,* of Strongbow's English followers into *fo, fose, faad, fan, far,* has changed the *hwa, hwas, hwat, hwan, hwar,* of the Angles and Flemings of the north-east, and Norwegians of the north, into the *faa, faa's, fat, fan, faar* of Aberdeen, Caithness, Angus, and Moray. The same (or a similar) influence which has in Barony Forth produced *loane, hoane, sthoan, eiloane* from the old Southern English *lond, hond, stond, ilond,* has in Scotland produced *laan', haan', staan', hielan's,* wherever the Teutonic has come in peaceful contact with the Celtic, the original *land, hand, stand, heelands,* being retained in the old Angle area of the south-east. There is therefore as much to be said for the Celtic as for the Norse influence in *at*; and what has been shown with regard to *at,* may *mutatis mutandis* be shown, I believe, of much else that passes as Danish.

§ 11. From the fourteenth century onwards, Scotland presents a full series of writers in the Northern dialect,[1] which, as spoken

[1] Among the earliest connected specimens must be placed the fragments of Scottish songs relating to the siege of Berwick, 1296, and the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan, which, although they have suffered somewhat in orthography, retain the characteristically Northern grammatical inflexions.

What wenys kynge Edwarde, with his lange shankys,
To have wonne Berwyk all our vnthankys?
Gaas pykes hym
And when he had it
Gaas dykes hym.

Maydins of England sore may ye morne,
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe,
What wenyt the kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylow.

To these may be added the well-known fragment, contrasting the peace and plenty of the reign of Alexander III. with the calamities of the interregnum and war with England, which followed his death, thus introduced by Wyntown into his *Cronykil* (Royal MS. 17 D. XX., leaf 190*b*, new numbering—Bk. VII., chap. x., l. 521 of Macpherson's edition):—

A boll off bere, for awcht or ten,
In comowne pryse sawld wes þen;
ffor Sextene a boll off qwhete,
Or fore twenty, þe derth wes grete.
þis falyhyd fra he deyd suddanly;
þis sang wes made off hym for-þi:—
"Quhen[1] Alysander oure kyng wes dede,
þat Scotland led in luwe and le,
Away wes sons off ale and brede,
Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and gle;
Oure gold was changyd in to lede,
Cryst borne in to virgynyte,
Succoure Scotland, and remede
þat stad in his perplexyté."

As a specimen of the language, however, these lines cannot, with certainty, be placed earlier than the date of the *Cronykil* (1430). Indeed every MS. of Wyntown gives us a different version of them, the variations being instructive as to the fate of poems handed down by popular tradition. Thus the Harleian MS. 6909 has:—

Sen Alexander our king wes deid,
Away wes sones of aill & bread,
That Scotland left of lust & le,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyr & gle.
The gold wes changeit all in leid,
The fruit failȝeit on evir ilk tre;
Ihūm succour and send remeid,
That stad is in perplexitie.

[1] Pronounce A'lsander or E'lshander, in three syllables, as still used in some parts of Scotland. *Sons,* fullness, abundance, the root of *sonsy.*

and written in this country, may be conveniently divided into THREE periods. The first, or EARLY period, during which the *literary* use of this dialect was common to Scotland, with England north of the Humber, extends from the date of the earliest specimens to the middle or last quarter of the fifteenth century. The second, or MIDDLE period, during which the literary use of the northern dialect was confined to Scotland (the midland dialect having supplanted it in England), extends from the close of the fifteenth century to the time of the Union. The third, or MODERN period, during which the northern dialect has ceased to be the language of general literature in Scotland also, though surviving as the speech of the people and the language of popular poetry, extends from the union of the kingdoms to the present day.

§ 12. The language of the EARLY period may be called *Early Lowland Scotch*, at least that of the early Scottish writers. In point of fact it is simply the northern English, which was spoken from the Trent and Humber to the Moray Forth, and which differed characteristically from the Midland English, which adjoined it on the South, and still more from the Southern English which prevailed beyond the Thames.[1] The final division of the Northan-hymbrian territory—over which the King of Scots had at times held dominion as far south as the Tees, and the King of England claimed supremacy as far north as the Forth—between the two kingdoms, produced no sudden break in the common language. Previous to the War of Independence, the relations of the owners of the soil in this territory were such that the division was more nominal than real; and even after that struggle, which made every one either an Englishman or a Scotchman, and made English and Scotch names of division and bitter enmity, Barbour at Aberdeen, and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen in the same identical dialect. It is not, of course, implied that in the matter of orthography, in which every man did that which was right in his own eyes—and ears—and in which every copying clerk altered the spelling of his original to suit his own taste or convenience, there was absolute uniformity, although, even in this matter, the older our examples are, the closer is the agreement. The following spe-

It is to be regretted that Macpherson, in his printed edition of Wyntown—implicitly copied, apparently, by all subsequent writers—instead of following the contemporary Royal MS., altered the last line after this garbled copy, reading :—

Succour Scotland, and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte,

which is simply nonsense, although Dr. Jamieson makes *stad* a past participle, meaning *placed*. The meaning of the two lines is evidently "Succour Scotland, and remedy that state (*or* stead?) in its perplexity."

[1] For the distinguishing characteristics of the three great English dialects of the 13th and 14th centuries, the reader is referred to Mr. R. Morris's "Specimens of Early English," and his numerous contributions to English philology in the proceedings of the Philological, and publications of the Early English Text Society.

cimens show the identity of the Northern dialect in England and Scotland, and illustrate the difficulty experienced in judging, from internal evidence alone, whether a given production of the period was written north or south of the Tweed. They consist of: 1. Passages from the Northern version of *Cursor Mundi*, written, near Durham, about 1275-1300 (while Alexander III. reigned in Scotland), and preserved in an orthography not much later. 2. Extracts from the Early Scottish Laws, the Latin originals of which date to the reign of David I., William the Lion, &c.; and the vernacular translations to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. 3. Passages from Barbour's *Brus*, written at Aberdeen about 1375; but as the existing MSS. are more recent by a century, the extracts are taken from the passages incorporated by Wyntown in his "Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland," 1419-30, and preserved in the Royal MS. 17 D. xx., of date 1430-40. 4. The same passages from John Ramsay's transcript of Barbour in 1489, assimilated to the orthography of that later period. 5. An Extract from *The Craft of Deyng*, one of the 15th c. Scottish pieces contained in Camb. Univ. MS. K.K. 1, 5, and important as being, with exception of some of the older translations of the laws, and other formal documents, perhaps the most archaic specimen of Scottish prose yet published. 6. From Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience," written near Doncaster early in the fourteenth century, but of which the MS. is not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth, and the orthography influenced by that of the Midland English. 7. From the prose works attributed to Hampole in the Thornton MS., of which the orthography is also somewhat modified, but, upon the whole, more Northern; and 8. Specimens of contemporary date with the Thornton MS., from the Acts of the Scottish Parliament of James I. and James II.

The identity of the language of these works may be studied, first, in the words and word-forms, such as *wone, mirkness, byggin, gar, tynsel, pousté, reauté, to-morn, barne, dede, mckyll, mare, maste, kynrik, quhilk, swilk, ilka, swa, quha, stane, ald, cald, hald, aucht, ga, gang, gede, gane, tas, tane, ma, mas, sal, sould, wald, chese, ane, twa, nowcht, na, wrang, lang, nathyng, bath, ryn, hyng, hym, kyng,* &c.

Secondly, in the grammatical inflections: the irregular plurals, *brether, childer, kye, gait, schone,* &c.; the possessive, as in his *fader* broder, his *syster* sone, the *childer* ayris; the indefinite article identical with the numeral, *a* before a consonant, *ane* or *an* otherwise; the demonstratives, *thir, tha*; distinction between *tha* and *thay*; the pronouns, *scho, thay, thair, thame*; the relative, *at*; the forms, *whatkyn, alkyn, nakyn, swylkin,* the *tane,* the *tother*; the verbal inflections, *thow cumis, clerkes sayis, we that lyves*; the participle, in *and,* and gerund in *ing, falland, fallyng*; preterites, like *fand, rayse,* &c.; the negative, *nocht, noght*; the preposition, *tyl,* for *to,* &c.

Thirdly, in the orthography, in which we notice that the

guttural was originally *gh*, both with English and Scottish writers, but with the latter gradually changed into *ch*; the Ags. *hw* became first *qw*, *qu*, afterwards *quh*, *qwh*, and, in England, at length *wh*; *sh*, originally *sc*, became, in both, *sch*, upon which the Midland English *sh* intrudes; *i* and *y* are interchanged; the past participle in *-yd* in the oldest Scotch, as in English, but later changed into *-yt*.

1.—Cursor Mundi, or Cursor o Worlde (Cott. MS. Vesp. A. iii.)

God's creative might.

Quat man mai wiit, quat man mai lere
Quat man may se, quat ere may here
Quat man in erth mai thinc in thoght
Hu al þis werld ur laverd wroght,
Heven and erth al in þair haldes,
Þat mighti godd þat alle waldes?
Qua can sai me hu of a sede (i. e. *ae* seid)
He dos an hundret for to brede?
Thoru his mighti wille dos þat king
Ute of the erd tre to spring
ffrst the lef and sithen þe flur
And þan þe frut with his savur
Ilkin frut in his sesun . . .

The Resurrection.

Sua haali sal þai þan rise þare,
Þam sal noght want a hefd hare, (*i. e.* one hair of the head)
Ne noght a nail o fote ne hand;
Þof-quether, we sal understand
Þat nail and hare þat haf ben scorn, (i. e. schorn)
Bes noght al quar þai war beforn; . . .
Bot als potter with pottes dos,
Quen he his neu wessel fordos,
He castes al þan in a balle,
A better for to mak with-alle;
O noght he lokes quilk was quilk
Bot maks a nother of þat ilk
Wel fairer þan þe first was wroght;
Right sua sal crist, ne dut þe noght.

Here the Anglo-Saxon *u* (and even the French *ou*) is still represented by *u*, which in later times was written *ou*, *u* alone being reserved for the French *u*. The vowels remain simple, *ai* and *ei*, being used only to represent an original diphthong, *mai*, *nail*. *Qu* and *sc* prepare the way for the Scotch *quh*, *sch*, for which the English afterwards substituted *wh* and *sh*.

2.—The Old Scottish Laws (Acta Parlm. Scott., vol. i.).

Þe blude of þe hede of ane erl or of a kinges son is ix ky. *Item* þe blud of þe sone of ane erl is vi ky or of a thayn. *Item*

þe blude of þe sone of a thayne is iii ky. *Item* þe blud of þe nevo of a thayn is twa ky and twa pert a kow. *Item* þe blud of a carl (*rustici*) a kow.—*Leges inter Scottos et Brettos.*

Giff ony be tane with þe laff (loaf—*pane*) of a halpenny in burgh, he aw throu þe toun to be dungyn. And for a halpenny worth to iiij penijs worth, he aw to be mar fayrly (A.S. fæʒer) dungyn. And for a pair of schone of iiij penijs he aw to be put on the cuk stull, and efter þat led to þe hed of þe toune and þar he sall forsuer þe toune. And fra iiij penijs till viij penijs and a ferthing he sall be put upon þe cuk stull, and efter þat led to þe hed of þe toune and þer he at tuk hym aw to cut his eyr (A.S. eár, South. eȝr) of. And fra viij penijs and a ferding to xvj penijs and a obo*lus* he sall be set apone þe cuk stull and efter þat led to þe hed of þe toune, and þer he at tuk hym aw to cut his uther ear of. And efter þat, gif he be tane with viij penijs and a ferding he þat takis hym sall hing hym. *Item* for xxxij penijs j obł he þat takis a man may hing hym.—*Fragmenta Vetusta*, ii. t 364.

It is to wyt þat all playntis þe quhilkis ar in burgh sall be endyt wythin þe burgh, out-takyn þa at fallis to þe kyngis croune —*Leges Quatuor Burgorum*, vj.

Þa landis at war gottyn in þe tyme of þe fyrst wyffe sall turn agayne to þe childer ayris of þe first wyffe.—*Ibid*, xxiv.

Nane aldirman, bailȝe (French bailli), na beddell sall bake brede na brew ale to sell wythin þar awin propir house durande þe tym þat þai stande in office.—*Ibid*, lix.

Baxtaris at bakis brede to sell sall bake quhyte brede and gray eftir þe consideracion and prise of þe gud men of þe toune eftir as þe sesson askis . . . And quha þat bakis brede to sell aw nocht for to hyde it, but sett it in þair wyndow, or in þe mercat þat it may be opynly sauld.—*Ibid*, lx.

Gif ony man fyndis his bonde in the fayre, the quhilk is fra hym fled, quhil the pece of the fayre is lestande, he may nocht of lauch chace na tak hym.—*Ibid*, lxxxviii.

Gif a leil man passis thruch a wildernesse or thruch woddis, and seis a man þat he weil knawis leddand a hors or an ox, or suilk othir maner of gudis, and he knawis nocht quha þat it aucht, and syn it be sperit at hym be ony man þat þe said gudis hes tynt, gif he wyst ocht of suilk maner of gudis, and gif he sayis þat he saw sic a thyng in þe hand of sic a man, he aw to suer þat sa it is, as he sais, and syn þe tothir sal seik to his gudis. And gif forsuth he þat challangis þe gudis sais wytterly þat he hes art and part of þa gudis takyng, and þat he wald pruff eftir þe assyse of þe land, þat he þat sa is challangyt, gif he be fre man and worthi to fecht, wyth his awyn hand he sal defend hym thruch bataile.—*Assise Regis Davidis*, xx.

Here *ou* has come into use for the Anglo-Saxon *ú* (*u* being used

for Ags. *o*), but the other vowels generally remain simple. The *qu* and *sc* of *Cursor Mundi* have become *quh* and *sch*; and *ch* is seen generally taking the place of *gh* as the symbolisation of the guttural. Final *e* also becomes more abundant, but, upon the whole, the language approaches closely to that of the former specimen.

3.—Andro of Wyntown's Extracts from Barbour's *Brus* in the "Cronykil," (ab. 1440.)

Qwhen Alysandyre oure kyng wes dede,
Þat Scotland had to stere and lede,
Þe land, sex yhere and mayr perfay,
Wes desolate eftyr his day.
Þe barnage off Scotland, at þe last,
Assemlyd þame and fandyt fast
To cheſ̌ a kyng þare land to stere,
Þat off Awncestry cummyn were
Off kyngis þat aucht þat Reawte,
And mast had rycht þare kyng to be.
Bot Inwy þat is fellowne
Amang þame mad dissensiown.

* * * *

A! blynd folk, fulle of all foly,
Had yhe wmbethowch[t] yowe inkyrly
Quhat peryle to ȝowe mycht appere,
Yhe had noucht wroucht on þis manere.
Had yhe tane kepe how þat þat kyng,
Off Walys, for-owtyn sudiowrnyng,
Trawalyd to wyn þe Senhowry,
And throw his mycht till occupy
Landys, þat ware till hym merchand,
As Walys wes and als Irland,
Þat he put till sic threllage,
Þat þai þat ware off hey parage
Suld ryn on fwte als rybalddale,
Quhen ony folk he wald assale
Durst nane off Walis in batale ryd,
Na yhit fra evyn fell, a-byde
Castell or wallyd towne wyth-in,
Þan he suld lyff and lymmis tyne,
In till swylk thryllage þame held he
Þat he oure-come wyth his powstè.
Yhe mycht se, he suld occupy
Throwch slycht, þat he na mycht þrow maystri.
Had yhe tane kepe quhat was threllage,
And had consydryd his oysage,
Þat grypyd ay, but gayne-gyvyng,
Yhe suld, for-owtyn his demyng,

Hawe chosyn yhowe a kyng þat mycht
Hawe haldyn welle yhoure land at rycht.
Walis ensawmpill mycht hawe bene,
To yhow, had yhe It before sene.
Quha will be oþir hym-selff chasty
Wyſ̃ men sayis, he is happy,
And perylowſ̃ thyngis may fall perfay,
Als well to-morne as yhystyr-day
Bot yhe trastyd in lawté,
As Sympil folk but mawvite,
And wyst noucht quhat suld efftyr tyde;
For in þis warld þat is sa wyd,
Is nane determyne may, na sall
Knaw thyngis þat ar for to fall:
For God, þat is off mast powsté
Reſ̃erwyt þat till hys Maiesté.

4.—Barbour. The same passage from John Ramsay's transcription of the *Brus*, towards the close of the century (1489).[1]

Quhen Alexander þe king wes deid,
That Scotland haid to steyr and leid,
The land vj ȝer, and mayr perfay,
Lay desolat eftyr hys day;
Till þat þe barnage at þe last
Assemblyt þaim, and fayndyt fast
To cheyſ̃ a king þar land to ster,
Þat off awncestry cummyn wer
Off kingis, þat aucht þat reawte
And mayst had rycht þair king to be.
Bot enwy, þat is sa feloune,
Maid amang þaim gret discencioun.

* * * *

A! blynd folk full of all foly!
Haid ȝe wmbethocht ȝow enkrely,
Quhat perell to ȝow mycht apper,
Ȝe had nocht wrocht on that maner:
Haid ȝe tane keip how at þat king
Alwayis, for-owtyn soiournyng,
Trawayllyt for to wyn senȝhory,
And throw his mycht till occupy
Landis, þat war till him marcheand,
As walis was, and als Ireland;

[1] From Mr. Skeat's edition of the *Brus* for the Early Eng. Text Soc. The thorn (þ), which was by this time confounded in writing with y, and so printed in old books, Mr. Skeat prints *th* italic. It is here printed þ, the letter intended by the MSS.

*Þ*at he put to swylk thrillage,
That *Þ*ai, *Þ*at war off hey pa*r*age,
Suld ryn on fute, as rebaldaill,
Quhen he wald our folk assaill.
Durst nane of Walis in bataill ride;
Na yhet, fra ewyn fell, abyd
Castell or wallyt toune wi*th*-in,
*Þ*at he ne suld lyff and ly*m*mys tyne.
In-to swilk thrillage *Þ*aim held he,
*Þ*at he ourcome throw his powste.
*Ȝ*e my*ch*t se he suld occupy
Throw sly*ch*t, *Þ*at he ne my*ch*t throw maistri.
Had *Ȝ*e tane kep quhat was thrillag,
And had *con*sideryt his vsage,
*Þ*at gryppyt ay, but gayne-gevyng,
*Ȝ*e suld, for-owtyn his demyng,
Haiff chosyn *Ȝ*ow a king *Þ*at my*ch*t
Have haldyn veyle *Þ*e land in ry*ch*t.
Walys ensample my*ch*t have bene
To *Ȝ*ow, had *Ȝ*e It forow sene.
*Þ*at be o*Þ*ir will him chasty,
And wy*ß* men sayis he is happy.
For wnfayr thing*is* may fall per*f*ay,
Al*ß* weill to-morn as *Ȝ*hister*d*ay.
Bot *Ȝ*e traistyt in lawte,
As sympile folk, but mawyte;
And wyst no*ch*t quhat suld eft*ir* tyd.
For in *Þ*is warld, *Þ*at is sa wyde,
Is nane dete*r*mynat *Þ*at sall
Knaw thing*is* *Þ*at ar to fall;
But god *Þ*at is off maist poweste,
Reser*w*yt till his maieste,
For to knaw, in his pr*e*science,
Off alkyn tyme the mowence.

In the later transcription of Barbour we note the greater frequency of the orthographic peculiarities of the Scottish writers of the Middle period, *ai, ay,* and *ei, ey,* being used for the older *a* and *e*. Thus, *deid, leid, weill, cheys, steyr, keip—travayll, bataill, thaim, thair, mayst, maid, traist, haiff, haid, faynd,* represent the older, *dede, lede, well, chese, stere, kepe—travall, batale, tham, thar, mast, mad, trast, have, had, fand.* In the 16th c. all long *a*'s and *e*'s were represented by *ai* and *ei,* which in early times were used only for an original diphthong Anglo-Saxon or French. Observe also the change of the Ags. and Eng. past participle in *d,* assemly*d,* travally*d,* wally*d,* consydry*d,* grypy*d,* trasty*d,* used by Wyntown, into the Middle Scotch form in *t,* assembly*t,* travayly*t,* wally*t,* consider*yt,* gryppy*t,* traisty*t*.

5.—The Craft of Deyng.[1]

Efter the dear [*i.e. dier*] be informyt of thir temptaciouns, at will be put to hyme, he ſuld be demandyt, Fyrſt, gyf he be blyth at he deis in the faith of criſt and of haly kirk, and ſyne gyf he grantis at he has nocht leuit rycht wyſly, as he aucht to do, and gyf he forthinkis his myſdedis, and gif he has wyll to mend thaim at his poware. Syne ſuld he ask at hym, gyf he trowis that criſt, godis ſonne our lord, deit for hym, and al ſynaris; and gif he thankes hyme thar of with al his hart, And gyf he trowis ony oþer ways than be the faith of hym and ded to be ſauf. Than byd hyme be ſtark and ſykir in that faith, and have hop of nan vthir thinge for temptacioune of the deuill: and gif thi ſynis be laid befor the by the angell gud or Ill, ſay than, "the paſſioune of criſt I put betuex me and my ſynis, & betuex me and the eternall ded, the ded of criſt." And alſua, he ſuld be examynit in the arteclis of the treuth, that is to ſay, gyf he trowis in the faþer, and in the ſone, and the haly gaiſt, and ane anerly god, makar of hevyne and erde; and in our lord Ihesu criſt, anerly ſone to god by natur, at our lady mary euervyrgne conſauit by þe werkis of the haly gaist, but ſeid of man: the quhilk tholyt ded one the corſ, for ws ſynaris, and was grawyne and diſcendyt to hell, to radem our eldaris at had hope of his cumyne. The quhilk raiſ one the thrid day, fra ded to lyf, one his awne mycht, and aſſendyt to hevyne, & ſytis one his faderis rycht hand, and fra thyne, in the ſamyne wyſ as he paſſyt, is to cum agan one domys day to Iug all mankynd. Als he ſuld trow in the haly gaist, & in the bydingis of haly kirk, and the ſacramentis þarof. He Suld trow Alſua, in the reſurrectioune of al men, that is to ſay, at the ſam body and ſaull, as now is, ſal met to-gyddyr and tholl perpetuall Ioy or payne. He ſuld nocht anerly trow in thir xii arteclis, bot als in the haly wryt, and haf his hart rady to do thar-to, as his curat chargis hyme; and he ſal forſak al hereſyſ ande wichcraftis, forbydin[g] be haly kyrk. Als þe ſek man ſuld aſk mercy with al his hart, of the ſynis done agane þe lufe, gudnes, and mycht of god, and erar for the luf of god, than for the dred of ony payne; alſua, he ſuld ſykirly think that in caſ he mend of that ſeknes, that he ſal neuer wylfully ſyne in thai ſynis, na in na vthir dedly: For in the thocht, at the ſaull paſſys fra the body [it] is tan For euer, and thar after ched or rewardyt ay leſtandly, as the angellis was in the begynyng.

Comparing this with the extract from Wyntown, we see at once the striking similarity of the language. Although here the past participle ends in *-yt* instead of *-yd*, the orthography of the Middle Period otherwise scarcely appears in it. Its close correspondence with the following specimens from Hampole is no less marked:—

[1] Ratis Raving, and other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse. Ed., from Camb. Univ. MS., KK. 1, 5, by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A. Early Eng. Text Soc., 1870.

6.—Hampole's Pricke of Conscience.[1]

The miseries of old age.—l. 766.

Bot als tyte as a man waxes alde,
Þan waxes his kynde wayke and calde,
Þan chaunges his complexcion
And his maners and his condicion;
Þan waxes his hert hard and hevy,
And his heved[1] feble and dysy;
Þan waxes his gaste seke and sare,
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare;
His mynde es shorte whan he oght thynkes,
His nese ofte droppes his and[2] stynkes,
His sight waxes dym Þat he has,
His bak waxes croked, stoupand he gas.
Fyngers and taes, fote and hande,
Alle his touches er tremblande:
His werkes forworthes Þat he bygynnes,
His haire moutes, his eghen[3] rynnes:
His eres waxes deef, and hard to here,
His tung fayles, his speche is noght clere,
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes,
His wyttes fayles, and he ofte dotes;
He es lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward,
Bot to turne hym fra wrethe, it es hard;
He souches and trowes sone a thyng,
Bot ful late he turnes fra Þat trowyng;
He es covatous, and hard-haldand,
His chere es drery and his sembland;
He es swyft to spek on his manere,
And latsom and slaw for to here;
He prayses ald men and haldes Þam wyse,
And yhung men list him oft despyse;
He loves men Þat in ald tyme has bene,
He lakes Þe men Þat now er sene;
He es ofte seke and ay granand,
And ofte angerd, and ay pleynand;
All Þir, thurgh kynd, to an ald man falles,
Þat clerkes propertés of eld calles.
Þe last ende of mans lyfe es harde
Þat es, when he drawes to ded-warde;
When he es seke, and bedreden lys,
And swa feble Þat he may noght rys.

[1] head.

[2] breath.

[3] eyen, eyes.

[1] The Pricke of Conscience: A Northumbrian Poem, by Richard Rolle de Hampole. Edited by Richard Morris (from MS. Cotton-Galba E. ix.), published for the Philological Society by A. Asher and Co., Berlin, 1863.

Dam Fortone and hir Whele.—l. 1273.

Bot with the world comes dam fortone
Þat aythir hand may chaunge[e] sone;
For sho turns about ay hir whele,
Up and doune, als many may fele;
When sho hir whele lates about ga,
Sho turnes sum doune fra wele to wa,
And, eft, agaynward, fra wa to wele;
Þus turnes sho oft obout hir whele,
Þe whilk thir clerkes noght elles calles
Bot happe or chaunce Þat sodanli falles
And Þat men haldes here noght elles,
Bot welthe and angre in whilk men duelles.
Þarfor worldly happe es ay in dout
Whilles dam fortune turnes hir whele about.

The broad and the narrow way.—l. 1394.

Þis world es Þe way and passage
Þurgh whilk lyes our pilgrymage
By Þis way by-hoves us al gang,
Bot be we war we ga noght wrang;
For in Þis world liggis twa ways
Als men may fynd Þat Þam assays
Þe tane es way of Þe dede calde,
Þe tother es way of lyfe to halde
Þe way of dede semes large and eesy
And Þat may lede us ouer-lightly,
Un-til Þe grysly land of mirknes
Þar sorow and pyn ever-mare es.
Þe way of lyfe semes narow and harde
Þat ledes us til our contré-warde
Þat es Þe kyngdom of heven bright
Whare we sal won ay in Goddes sight
And Goddes awen sons Þan be calde
If we Þe way of lyfe here halde.

Here the orthography of the adjacent Midland English has caused the substitution of *wh* for *quh*, in most cases, although instances of the latter also occur, e.g. lines 1165, 1354,

He says Þe world es na thyng elles
Bot ane hard exil in qwilk men duelles.

Þe quilk als says wyse men and witty
Onence God is bot folly.

This MS. also uses the more modern *sh* for the older *sch*, which occurs in other MSS. of the same work, and in the following, which is also in other respects more characteristically northern.

7.—Hampole's Prose Works.[1]

"Of the vertus of the Haly name of Ihesu:" from a sermon of Richard the Hermit on Canticles i. 3. (page 4).

Allanely þay may joye in Ihesu þat lufes hym in þis lyfe, and þay þat fyles þam with vices and venemous delittes, na drede þat ne þay ere putt owte of joye. Also with all þat þe name of Ihesu es helefull fruytfull and glorious. Thare-fore wha sall haue hele þat lufes it noghte, or wha sal bere þe frwytt before Criste þat has noghte the floure, and joy sall he noghte see þat joyeande luffede noghte þe name of Ihesu. The wykkede sal be done awaye þat he see noghte þe joye of God. Sothely e ryghtwyse sekys þe joye and þe lufe and þay fynd it in Ihesu whaym þay luffede. I gede abowte be covatyse of reches and I fande noghte Ihesu. I rane þe wantonnes of flesche and I fand noght Ihesu. In all thir(e) I soghte Ihesu bot I fand hym noghte, ffor he lett me wyete by his grace þat he ne is funden in þe land of [þe] softly lyfand. . . . Sekyrly may he or scho chese to lyfe anely þat has chosene þe name of Ihesu to thaire specyalle, for thare may na wykked spyrite noye þare Ihesu es mekyll in mynde or is nevenyd in mouthe.

8.—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, under James I. and James II.

Alsua it is seyn speidfull, *þat* all taxatour*is* þe tyme of þar extent, warne all maner of man *þat* of all þair gudis *þat* ar taxit bathe of best*is*, corn, and vthir gud*is*, wit*h*in xv dais nixt eft*ir* following þe taxt, þe payme*n*t be redy in silu*er* and golde as is befor wr*i*tyne. And gif at þe ende of þe saide xv dais, þe payme*n*t be no*cht* redy, þe officiar*is* of ilk schyrefdome sall tak of ilk ma*n* *þat* warnys payme*n*t a kow for v s̃ a ȝowe or a wedd*er* for xij d. a gait a gymm*er* or a dynmont for viij d a wilde meire and hir folowar for x s̃, a colt of thre ȝere and mare of eild xiij s̃ iiij d. a boll of quhet xij d. a boll of ry, bere, or peiß viij d. a boll of aitis iij d. And gif þe *sch*iref tak*is* þar gud*is*, he sall ger þe lorde of þe lande, gif he may be gottin, pay þe taxt to þe king and deliu*er* þe gud*is* till him. And gif he will no*cht*, þe *sch*iref sall ger sell þe gudis at þe nixt mercat day or sende þame to þe king on þe king*is* cost*is* quhar þe king or his deput*is* ordanys.—*Acta Jacobi I.*, 1424.

Item, it is ordanit þat of ilk sek of wol þat sal paß out of Scotland, þe Scott*is* merchande gif he sailys *þerwith*, or þe Scott*is* merchande þat sellys it to strangear*is* sal fynde sickar sou*er*te to

[1] English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole (who died A.D. 1349), Edited from Robert Thornton's MS. (cir. 1440 A.D.) in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, by George G. Perry, M.A., London. Early English Text Society. No. 20.]

þe custumar*is* of þe port*is* quhare þe schippis sailys to bring hame in Scotlande to þe maist*er* of þe king*is* moné thre vnce of bul3eon. And of a last of hyd*is* alß mekill as of three sekk*is* of wol. And of v hamburghe barellys alß mekill as of a sek of wol. And of v*þer* gud*is* þat aw na custum or þat aw custum eft*er* þe fraucht of þe serplaithe; þat is to say, it at payis as a serplaithe in fraucht sall bring thre vnce of bul3eon hame und*er* þe payne of tynsal of alß mekill bul3eon as þay sulde bring hame to be applyıt to þe king.—*Ibid.* 1436.

Item, it is ordanyt for þe distruccione of wolf*is* þat in ilk cuntre quhar ony is, þe *sch*iref or þe bail3eis of þat cuntre sall gad*er* þe cuntre folk þre tymis in the 3er*e* betuix sanct m*ark*is day and lamm*e*ß for þat is þe tyme of þe quhelpis. And quhat eu*er* he be þat rysß noc*h*t w*ith* þe *sch*iref or þe bail3e or barone, wıth*in* himself he sall pay vnforgeuin a wedd*er* as is *con*tenyt in þe aulde act maid þ*er*apone. And he þ*at* slays ane wolf þan or ony v*þer* tyme he sall haif of ilk houß hald*er* of þ*at* p*ar*ochin þ*at* þe wolf is slayne w*ith*ın j d. And gif ıt happyn*n*is ony wolf to cu*m* in þe cu*n*tre þ*at* wıtting is gottyne þ*er*of þe cu*n*tre salbe redy and ilk houshald*er* to hvnt þame vnd*er* þe payne forsaide. And he þ*at* slays ane wolf sall bring þe hede to þe *sch*iref, bail3e or barone and he salbe dettou*r* to þe slaar for þe sovme forsaide. And quha ev*er* he be þat slays a fox and bring*is* þe hede to þe schıref, lorde, barone or bail3e he sall haif vj d.—*Acta Jacobi II.*, 1457.

§ 13. The identity of the language of the Scottish writers of the 14th and 15th centuries with that of the northern half of England, during the same period, has been only partially recognized, or not recognized at all, by most writers upon the origin of "the Scottish language," who, comparing early Scottish fragments with specimens of Semi-Saxon and Southern English, such as Layamon, the Cuckoo Song, and the Ayenbite of Inwyt—not as *Northern* contrasted with *Southern* dialect, but as *Scotch* in contrast with *English*—have, without difficulty, shown that the difference between the idioms was much greater then than now, and quite enough to warrant their being ranked as distinct languages; whereupon, ignoring the Northern English, or claiming all the Northern romances as Scotch,[1] they have asserted for the Scotch an origin independent of the Anglo-Saxon, which has been variously sought (and found) in the Pictish (whatever that might be), the Norwegian, the "Suio-Gothic"—anywhere, indeed, rather than in the Old Angle or Northern English of Lothian and Northumbria. Allowance will, however, be made for these vagaries, when it is remembered how very recent is our knowledge of any facts connected with the distribution and distinguish-

[1] See David Irving's History of Scottish Poetry, in which the second chapter is taken up with works scarcely any of which are Scotch, and some not even *Northern*, in language.

ing characteristics of the dialects of the 13th and 14th centuries—a region of research which was all but a *terra incognita* when taken up by Mr. Richard Morris. His classification of the Early English dialects into Southern, Midland, and Northern, with the careful discrimination of their grammatical forms, has introduced order and precision into the study, and has contributed more than anything to a true appreciation of the position of the Scottish varieties of the Northern dialect. But the facts are still far from being generally known,[1] and I have repeatedly been amused, on reading passages from Cursor Mundi and Hampole to men of education, both English and Scotch, to hear them all pronounce the dialect "Old Scotch." Great has been the surprise of the latter especially on being told that Richard the Hermit wrote in the extreme south of Yorkshire, within a few miles of a locality so thoroughly English as Sherwood Forest, with its memories of Robin Hood. Such is the difficulty which people have in separating the natural and ethnological relations in which national names originate from the accidental values which they acquire through political complications and the fortunes of crowns and dynasties, that oftener than once the protest has been made, "Then he must have been a Scotchman settled there;" reminding us of the dictum of a learned Scottish judge upon the *Pricke of Conscience*—"You call it Early English, but it is neither more nor less than *Broad Scots!*" To which the reply has been given, "*You* call the language of Barbour's *Brus* and Blind Harry's *Wallace*, of Wyntown, James I., and Dunbar, *Scotch;* but this is only a modern notion, for those writers themselves, whose patriotism certainly was not less, while their authority was greater than yours, called their language *Inglis*." The retort has certainly the facts on its side. Down to the end of the 15th century, there was no idea of calling the tongue of the Lowlands *Scotch*; whenever the "Scottish language" was spoken of, what was meant was the Gaelic or Erse, the tongue of the original Scots, who gave their name to the country. The tongue of the Lowlanders was "Inglis," not only as being the tongue of the Angles of Lothian and Tweeddale, and as having been introduced beyond the Forth by Anglo-Saxon settlers, but English as being the spoken tongue of the northern subjects of the King of England, those with whom the subjects of the King of Scotland

[1] Even so careful a writer as John Hill Burton quotes Rishanger's version of the taunt offered by the Scots to Edward I. at the siege of Berwick, 1296:—

"Kyng Edward wanne thu havest
Berwic, pike the; wanne thu havest
geten dike the,"

as "perhaps the oldest relic of the Lowland Scots of the day." The sentence may represent the chronicler's *translation* of what was said, but "wanne thu havest" is characteristically *Southern* English, and could never have been used north of the Humber. More truly Northern is the metrical version given by Fabyan (see ante. p. 28.)

came most immediately in contact. So Andro of Wyntown, in introducing his "Orygynal Cronykil," thus explains his plan :—

> Allsua set I myne Intent
> My wyt, my wyll, and myne talent,
> Fra þat I sene hade storis sere,
> In Cronyklys quhare þai wryttyne were,
> Þare matere in-tyll fowrme to drawe,
> Off Latyne in-tyll Ynglys sawe,
> And clerly bryng þame tyll knawlage,
> Off Latyne intyll owre langage,
> Tyll ilke mannys wndyrstandyng
> For syndrynes of þare chawngyng.—Book I., Prol., l. 25.

Barbour (*Brus* IV. 252) thus translates into his own "Inglis" the answer of the *nigromansour* consulted "be the erl Ferandis modir" :—

> *Rex ruet in bello, tumulo que carebit honore.*
> This wes þe spek he maid perfay,
> As is in Ynglis toung to say :
> "The king sall fall in the fichting
> And sall fale honour of erding."

Harry the Minstrel (*Wallace*, p. 231) says of Wallace's French friend, Longueville :—

> Lykly he was, manlik of contenance,
> Lik to the Scottis be mekill governance
> Sauff of his tong, for Ingliss had he nane.

So Dunbar, in his well-known apostrophe to Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, at the end of *The Golden Terge* :—

> O reverend Chawcere, Rose of Rethoris all,
> As *in oure Tong* ane Flouir imperiall,
> That raise in Brittane evir, quho redis rycht,
> Thou beiris of Makaris the Tryumphs riall;
> Thy fresch anamalit Termes celicall
> This matir couth illumynit have full brycht :
> Was thou noucht of *our Inglisch* al the Lycht,
> Surmounting eviry Tong terrestriall
> Als fer as Mayes morow dois Mydnycht.
>
> O morall Gower and Lydgate laureate,
> ȝour sugurit lippis, and Tongis aureate
> Bene til our eris cause of grite delyte;
> ȝour angel mouthis maist mellifluate,
> *Our rude langage* hes clere illumynate,
> And faire owre-gilt *our speche*, that imperfyte
> Stude, or ȝour goldyn pennis schupe to write
> This Ile before was bare and disolate
> Off Rethorike or lusty fresch endyte.

A letter addressed to Henry IV. of England by George, Earl of Dunbar, February 18th, 1400, is of such interest, not only from the writer's denomination of his language, but also as a dated specimen of the current Lowland tongue at an early period, that I cannot withstand the temptation of reproducing the concluding

sentences entire from the careful transcription given by Professor Cosmo Innes, in his introduction to the Spalding Club edition of Barbour :—

"And excellent prince, syn that I clayme to be of kyn tyll yhow, and it peraventur nocht knawen on yhour parte, I schew it to yhour lordschip be this my lettre that gif dame Alice the Bewmont was yhour graunde dame, dame Mariory Cumyne hyrr full sister was my graunde dame on the tother syde, sa that I am bot of the feirde degre of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neir. And syn I am in swilk degre tyll yhow, I requer yhow as be way of tendirness thareof and fore my seruice in maner as I hafe before writyn, that yhe will vouchesauf tyll help me and suppowell me tyll gete amende of the wrangs and the defowles that ys done me, sendand tyll me gif yhow lik yhour answer of this, with all gudely haste. And noble prince, mervaile yhe nocht that I write my lettres in Englis fore that ys mare clere to myne understandyng than latyne or Fraunche. Excellent mychty and noble prince, the haly Trinite hafe yhow euermar in kepyng. Writyn at my Castell of Dunbarr the xviij day of Feuerer.

"Le Count de la Marche Descoce."

§ 14. That "Scotticè" meant "in Gaelic," in the reign of Macbeth, has been already mentioned. The same meaning continued to be attached to the word during the reigns of the early Scoto-Saxon kings down to Alexander III.; and even after the War of Independence, John of Fordun (about 1400) expressly distinguished the Celtic of the original Scots from the Lowland tongue as *Scotish*. Speaking of his fellow-countrymen, he says[1] :— "For two languages are in use among them—the Scotish and the Teutonic; the people using the latter tongue occupy the sea-coast and lowland districts; the people of Scotish language inhabit the highlands and the isles beyond." But as Scotland became more and more distinct from England, and *Scottish* became confirmed in a political sense, instead of its ancient historical one, it was found inconvenient or misleading to apply the name to one of the two languages used in the country, and the original Celtic tongue of the Scots consequently came to be generally known to the Teutonic Lowlanders as Yrisch or Erisch (the modern Erse), in allusion to its Irish origin and affinities, although the Gael themselves distinguish the Gaelig Albannach (Scotch Gaelic) from the Gaelig Eirionnach (Irish). Thus, Sir David Lyndesay, in pleading that the people should have all books necessary for their faith in their own vulgar tongue, instead of Latin, says :—

[1] "Duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scoticâ et Teutonicâ; hujus linguae gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones, linguae gens Scotticae montanas inhabitat et insulas ulteriores." — "Scotochronicon," vol. i. p. 44.

Sanct Ierome in his propir toung Romane
The law of God he trewlie did translait,
Out of Hebrew and Greik, in Latyne plane,
Quhilk hes bene hid frome ws lang tyme, god wait!
Onto this tyme: bot, efter my consait,
Had Sanct Ierome bene borne in tyll Argyle
In to Yrische toung his bukis [he] had done compyle.

In the "Flyting" between Dunbar and Kennedy, one of the points with which the former poet taunted his rival was his extraction from the Irish Scots of Galloway and Carrick, who still retained their Celtic tongue, whence he styled him "Ersch katherane," "Ersch brybour baird," and his poetry as—

Sic eloquence as thay in Erschery use;

proceeding to vaunt:—

I tak on me, ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
Sall fairar Inglis mak and mair parfyte,
Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis.

But though the *Sasunnach* might thus forget or ignore the fact, the Celt was not likely to forget that his own ancient and sonorous tongue was the original "Scots," and the "Lowthiane Inglis" but an intruder in the historic Scotland. In this spirit Kennedy answered Dunbar's taunt of the "Erschery":—

Thow luvis nane Erische, elf, I undirstand,
But it sowld be all trew Scottismennis leid;
It wes the [fyrst] gud langage of this land,
And *Scota* it causit to multyply and spreid,
Quhil Corspatrik, that we of tressoun reid,
Thy fore fader, maid Ersche and Erschmen thin,
Throw his tressoun brocht Inglis rumpillis in;
Sa wald thy self mycht thow to him succeid.

Probably this defence of the *Ersch*, as the original Scotch, and the insinuation that the *Inglis* or Lowland tongue was introduced by traitors under Edward I.—when Corspatrick, Earl of Dunbar, refused to attend the summons of "Wallace King in Kyle"—was influenced by the fact that the "Lowthiane Inglis," not content with supplanting the Celtic as the language of the Court and nation, was now in the act of completing the work of displacement by monopolising the name of Scottish, which had, up to this, been retained by the older tongue. The causes which brought about this consummation arose partly from the important change in the mutual relations of the English dialects in England; partly from certain changes which had been gradually passing over the language of the Scottish writers during the two centuries since the death of Alexander III., and had now reached such a point as to justify us in fixing upon the last quarter of the 15th century as the approximate starting point from which to date the commencement of the *Middle Period* of Scottish literature—that in which the Northern dialect became thoroughly national or

Scottish. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the three English dialects—the Southern, Midland, and Northern—had held equal rank as practically distinct languages, each sovereign in its own territory, and each boasting its own literature. When a work which had been produced in one dialect had to be reproduced for the speakers of another, it was not a simple transcription, but a *translation* that had to be made :—

> In Suthrun Englys was it drawin,
> And I have turned it till our awin
> Langage of the Northin lede,
> That can nane other Englys rede.

The man who lived north of the Humber was only partly intelligible when he wrote, probably altogether unintelligible when he spoke, to the man who lived south of the Thames. But as the country became more consolidated into a national unity, and its extremities more closely drawn together, the Midland dialect, which united the characteristics of the other two, and was, moreover, the form of speech used at the great seats of learning, where Northern and Southern thought were blended in one, began to stand forth as the medium of a common literature, the language of education and culture. In proportion as the Midland dialect acquired this pre-eminence, the dialects of the North and South, understood only in their own localities, ceased to be employed for literary purposes, and sank gradually into the position of local and rustic *patois*. By the close of the 15th century, when England settled down from the Wars of the Roses, and the great collisions of populations and dialects by which they were accompanied, there was thus but one standard language acknowledged, viz., that founded upon the Old Midland tongue. But while the Northern tongue had thus sunk beneath the surface in the North of England, in Scotland it had continued to be cultivated as the language of the Court, literature, and law. No wonder, then, that this dialect, from which the literary English had severed itself, and which had now a literature only in the Northern kingdom, came to be considered as peculiar to that kingdom, and to be distinguished from the literary English as *Scotch*. As Scotch, accordingly, we find it distinguished from English, and also from the Gaelic, by the protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, who, as a personal friend of James IV., and the only Spaniard who knew the country, was engaged by the envoys of Ferdinand and Isabella, in London, to write to those sovereigns a report upon Scotland. His letter, of date July 25th, 1498, preserved in the Simancas archives, of which a translation is given by the late Mr. Bergenroth, in his Calendar, after describing the linguistic attainments of the king, which embraced a knowledge of Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish, continues :—"His own Scottish language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The king speaks, besides,

the *language of the savages*, who live in some parts of Scotland and in the Islands. It is as different from Scottish as Biscayan is from Castilian. His knowledge of languages is wonderful." [1]

The first native writer who applied the name of Scottish to the Anglo-Saxon dialect of the Lowlands was apparently Gawain Douglas, in the well-known passage in the preface to his "XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poete Virgill, translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Metir, bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel, and Unkil to the Erle of Angus—every buke hauing his perticular Prologe," [2] "compilyt," we are told, "in auchtene monethis space," and "completit

> Apoun the feist of Marye Magdalane,
> Fra Cristis birth, the date quha list to here,
> Ane thousand, fyue hundreth and threttene ȝere."

Douglas sought especially to recommend his work to his countryman by the homeliness of his style, and was patriotically ostentatious of his "vulgare rurale grose," his

> Bad harsk speich and lewit barbare toung;

for he had, to his best ability,

> Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun;

and as to his aim, he described it thus:—

> And ȝit forsoith I set my besy pane
> (As that I couth) to mak it brade and plane,
> Kepand na Sodroun, bot oure awin langage,
> And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page;

[1] Bergenroth's Calendar, vol. i. No. 210. Don Pedro's characterisation of the Lowland Scotch is singularly exact, and shows that he was possessed of no small amount of philological insight. The languages of Spain, like those of Britain, belong to two widely-severed linguistic families. The Castilian and Catalan, or Aragonese, are sister descendants of the Latin, as the Southern English and Lowland Scotch are of the Anglo-Saxon. Although the rougher and stronger Catalan is in many respects the more interesting tongue, the softer Castilian, as the language of the capital and court, is the Spanish of Literature. The Basque dialects of the ancient Iberians, which linger on the slopes of the Pyrenees and along the rugged coast of the Bay of Biscay, are, like the Celtic dialects which survive in similar situations in Britain, the modern remains of a language which once extended over the country. The Basque is as far removed from the Romance family as the Gaelic is from the Teutonic stock. Don Pedro's reference to the Celtic clans as "the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and the Islands," is a faithful echo of the current sentiment of Anglo-Saxon Scotland in his own day and for centuries after. A competent authority has remarked, "The Highlanders were the human raw material which a king of Scots could in that day employ, so far as their nature suited, for the use or amusement of his guests. Them, and them only, among his subjects could he use as the Empire used the Transalpine barbarian —'butchered to make a Roman holiday.' The treatment of the Celt is the blot on that period of our history. Never, in later times, has the Red Indian or Australian native been more the hunted wild beast to the emigrant settler than the Highlander was to his neighbour the Lowlander."—"The Scot Abroad," vol. i. p. 133.

[2] The title of the original edition, "imprinted at London, 1553."

Na ȝit sa clene all Sudroun I refuse,
But sum worde I pronunce as nychboure dois,
Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum
Sum bastard Latyne, Frensche or Ynglis ois,
Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther chois;
Not that oure toung is in the seluin skant,
But for that I the fouth of langage want.[1]

And yet, as if to show that it was the patriotic feeling of the good bishop rather than the consent of his contemporaries to which he gave expression, we find his friend and survivor, Sir David Lyndesay, in an affectionate *eloge* upon the poet, refer to this very work as "Inglis":—

Allace for one, quhilk lamp wes of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand,
And in *our Inglis* Rethorick the rose,
As of rubeis the Charbunckle bene chose!
And as Phebus dois Cynthia precell
So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell
Had, quhen he wes into this land on-lyue
Abufe vulgare Poetis prerogatyue,
Boith in pratick and speculatioun;
I saye no moir, gude redaris may discriue
His worthy workis in nowmer mo than fyue:

[1] The expressed intention of Douglas to "kepe na Sodroun" is very curious, in the light of the fact that no Scottish writer—indeed, so far as I know, no Northern writer, of any period, either in England or Scotland—has employed so many genuine Southern forms. For example, not only does he use the y-prefix to the past participle (which the Northern dialect had dropped before the 12th century), in y-beried, y-clepit, y-conquest, i-conquest, y-fetterit, y-forgit, y-lowpit, y-markit, y-sowpit, y-womplit, y-wymplit; y-drad, y-plet; y-bound, i-bound, y-boundin, y-brokin, y-graven, y-slane; but he has even the *peculiarly* Southern forms which retain the prefix and drop the terminations—y-baik, y-be, y-bore, y-clois, y-draw, y-schroude, y-set—for the Northern bak-en, be-en, bor-en, clos-it, draw-en, schroud-it, sett-en or sutten. (Compare the modern Dorset, "Thay be a-zet," with the Sc. "Thay're suitt-en.") Some of these forms were indeed more "Sodroun" than the literary English of his own day; but all are Chaucerian, and show how deeply Douglas had drunk of him who was, more even than Virgil,

In that art of eloquence the flude
Maist cheif, profound and copious plenitude
Surss capitall in vene poeticall
Souerane fontane, and flum imperiall.

Nor must we forget the exigencies of the situation—the requirements of the measure and rhyme, and the restrictions of faithful translation.

Quhare as the cullour of his propirté
To keip the sentence (*i.e. the sense*) thareto constrenit me,
Or that to mak my sayng schort sum tyme,
Mare compendius, or to lykly my ryme;
Tharfor gude freyndis, for ane gympe or ane bourd,
I pray ȝou note me not at every word.

The *lykly-ing* of the rhyme is, I suppose, also accountable for the frequent use of mo, more, two, so, one, none, tone, own, go, also, hold, &c., as well as the more "brade and plane" ma, mare, twa or tway, sa, swa, ane, nane, tane, awin, ga, alswa, hauld; but only partly for the Midland English and Chaucerian, *thay bene* instead of the Northern *thay ar* or *er*.

Thay bene sa plane, eke and sa manifold.

> And speciallye the trew translatioun
> Off Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun
> To cunnyng men to knaw his gret ingyne
> Als weill in natural science as deuyne.
> *Compl. of Papyngo*, l. 22.

With Lyndesay, as with the older writers, from Barbour to Dunbar, the Lowland tongue is always "English." Thus, in the "Satyre of the thrie Estaitis," the Doctour who is desired by *Veritie* to preach a sermon in the vulgar tongue, so as to edify the common people of Scotland, is addressed:—

> "Magister noster, I ken how ȝe can teiche
> Into the scuillis, and that richt ornatlie;
> I pray ȝow now, that ȝe wald please to preiche
> In *Inglisch toung*, laud folk to edifie."

So also we are told—l. 2597:—

> Sanct Paull, that pillar of the kirk,
> Sayis to the wretchis that will not wirk,
> And bene to vertews laith,
> *Qui non laborat non manducet*,
> This is *in Inglische toung* or leit,
> "Quha labouris nocht he sall not eit."

On the other hand, the author of the celebrated "Complaynt of Scotland"—a contemporary of Lyndesay—claims for his "propir toung materne" the name of "Scottis langage." In his "Prolog to the Redar," he prays all wise men to excuse the homeliness of his style, in consideration of his patriotism:—

"Ane affectiue ardant fauoir that i hef euyr borne touart this affligit realme quhilk is my natiue cuntre. Nou heir I exort al philosophouris, historigraphours, & oratours of our scottis natione, to support and til excuse my barbir agrest termis: for i thocht it nocht necessair til hef fardit and lardit this tracteit witht[1] exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht daly vsit, bot rather i hef vsit domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the v[u]lgare pepil. ther hes bene diuerse translatours and compilaris in ald tymys, that tuke grite pleseir to contrafait ther v[u]lgare langage, mixand ther purposis witht oncoutht exquisite termis, dreuyn, or rather to say mair formaly, reuyn fra lating, and sum of them tuke pleiseir to gar ane word of ther purpose to be ful of sillabis half ane myle of lyntht, as ther was ane callit hermes, quhilk pat in his werkis thir lang tailit wordis, *conturbabuntur, constantinopolitani, innumerabilibus, solicitudinibus.* ther was ane vthir that writ in his werkis, *gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus.* Al sic termis procedis of fantastiknes ande glorious consaitis. I hef red in ane beuk of ane preceptor that said til his discipulis, thou sal speik comont langage ande thou sal lyue eftir the verteous maneirs of antiant men. ȝit nochtheles ther is mony wordis of antiquite that I hef rehersit in this tracteit, the quhilkis culd

[1] In this and all other cases, the original has *v*, instead of *w*—vitht, vas, voman, &c.

nocht be translatit in oure *scottis langage*, as *auguris, auspices, ides, questeours, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns*, ande mony vthir romane dictions: ther for gyf sic wordis suld be disusit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite wald be confundit and adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage witht part of termis dreuyn fra lateen, be rason that oure *scottis* tong, is nocht sa copeous as is the lateen tong, and alse ther is diuerse purposis and propositions that occurris in the lating tong that can nocht be translatit deuly in oure scottis langage: ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld nocht put reproche to the compilation, quhou beit that he fynd sum purposis translatit in scottis that accords nocht witht the lateen regester: as we hef exempil of this propositione, *homo est animal*, for this terme *homo* signifeis baytht man and woman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifeis baytht man and woman: and animal signifeis al thyng that hes lyue and is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifeis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione, *mulier est homo* is treu, and ȝit we suld nocht say that ane woman is ane man. Ande siclyik this propositione, *homo est animal* is treu, and ȝit we suld nocht say that ane man is ane beyst; of this sort ther is baytht termis and propositionis in lateen tong, the quhilk wil be difficil to translait them."

The author of the "Complaynt" was evidently a strenuous adherent of the French party, in the divisions with which Scotland was torn during the minority of Mary Stuart; and the purpose of his work was to arouse his countrymen to combine against "our mortal ald inemyis," the "rauand sauvage woffis," "cruel insaciat borreaus," and "incredule seid of ingland," against whom his animosity knows no bounds. He puts it to the sense of "uniuersal cristianite to juge quhidder that inglismen be sarrasyns or cristin men," and whether they be not "excommunicat and denuncit goddis rebellis be al lauis for ther infidilite, incrudilité, cruaute, tirranye, sacreleige, &c." Of course he recognized no connection with the "Inglis" tongue. It would have seemed too dangerous an act of deference to the enemy to call the language of Scotland "Inglis," albeit he allows, in the sequel, that the difference was not in the language, but the men who spoke it. "There is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men, quoubeit that thai be vitht in ane ile, and nychbours, and *of ane langage*" (fol. 69 [84]).

Later in the same century, John Knox, who wrote many prose works in the vernacular, is celebrated in a poem entitled "Ane brief Commendatioun of Vprichtnes,"[1] by John Davidson, Regent

[1] "Ane brief Commendatioun of Vprichtnes, in respect of the sureness of the same, to all that walk in it, amplifyit chiefly be that notabill document of Goddis michtie protectioun, in preseruing his maist vpricht seruand, and feruent messinger of Christis Euangell, Johne Knox. Set furth in Inglis meter be M. Johne Dauidsone, Regent in S. Leonard's College. Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpreuik, 1573." Reprinted in Suppl. to McCrie's Life of Knox.—Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry, p. 399.

of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, as eloquent in the "Scottis leid," or language:—

> For weill I wait that Scotland never bure
> In Scottis leid ane man mair eloquent:
> In to perswading also, I am sure,
> Was nane in Europe that was mair potent.
> In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,
> And als in Latine toung his propirnes
> Was tryit trym, quhen scollers wer present,
> Bot thir wer nathing till his vprichtnes.

Yet, curiously enough, the poem itself, though much more Scottish than any of the works of Knox, bears on its title that it is "set furth in Inglis meter"; while, to increase the inconsistency, the Poems and Fables of Henrysoun, published at the same time, in the same dialect, and from the same press, are "compylit in eloquent and ornate Scottis meter."

Abacuck Byssett, servant to Sir John Skeane, in his "Rolment of Courtis," written in the reign of Charles I., in language differing but little from the literary English of the period, also claimed to write in Scottis, "I haue writtin reuerendlie and spairinglie, usand my awin maternal Scottis langaige or mother toung, as we call it, in als pithie, schoirte, and compendious termes, and clene dictionare, according to my simpill iudgment and knawledge for oppyning up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensiounis of the mater or purpoiss in hand, and making it sensabill to the unlerned and vulgare sortis understanding."[1]

To sum up these authorities, then, we may say that the *lingua Scotica*, or *Scottis toung*, from the earliest period down to the year 1400, meant the Gaelic of the original Scots; which, however, from the 15th century onwards, was known to the Lowlanders as the *Yrische* or *Ersche*. The Teutonic tongue of the Lowlanders was, in like manner, known only as the *Lingua Anglica*, or *Inglis*, from the earliest period to the close of the 15th century, and by many writers was called *Inglis*, even down to the Union of the Crowns. But during the 16th century there were foreign writers who, for the sake of distinction, and native writers who, from patriotic or political motives, began to distinguish it from the *Inglis* of England as *Scottis* or *Scots*. And thus the tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the 14th century as Scottish and English—during the 15th century as Yrische, or Ersch, and English—and during the 16th century by some as Ersch and Inglisch; by others, probably, as Ersch and Scots.

§ 15. By whatever name known, the language of the Scottish writers of the Middle period had come to differ considerably from that of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. The differences which it presents fall under three heads: First, those of

[1] Quoted by Leyden, Preliminary Dissertation to the "Complaynt of Scotland," p. 82.

native growth—being changes in the form of spoken words, and consequently in their written form, due mostly to Celtic influence; secondly, those of French origin, arising from the intimate connection between Scotland and France during the 15th and first half of the 16th c.; and, thirdly, those of Classical origin. The first class of changes is that which belongs most to the natural history and life of the language, appearing first in the spoken tongue, and only securing a tardy acknowledgment in the language of books; the other two, and especially the last-mentioned, belong more to its culture and artificial development, having been for the most part introduced into the literary language, whence they reacted, to some extent, upon the living speech.

The differences of native growth are due mainly to the fact, that the literary Middle Scotch was not founded upon precisely the same dialectic type as the written language of the Early Period. We have seen that the original centre of the "Northin Inglis" was the ancient province of *Bernicia*, whence it gradually spread westward and northward over a large part of the original *Scotia*. In the outlying districts, where it came into contact with earlier tongues, which only gradually died out before it, the language was, as a matter of course, modified in its pronunciation, and perhaps even in many of its idioms. On the shores of the Forth, which formed so long the contested frontier between the Angles and the Picts—and where, after the cession of Lothian to the King of Scots, there must have been a considerable admixture of blood—but still more, to the north of that estuary, where the blood was to a great extent Celtic, the pronunciation was no doubt considerably affected. Nevertheless the written language seems to have been, in early times, the same for the whole of the area; the words and phrases in the Latin text of the early laws, and other ancient fragments, agree, even in orthography, with the language of *Cursor Mundi*, from the neighbourhood of Durham; and, as we have seen, the identity was preserved, in all essential respects, in the earlier part of the 15th c. But after the final establishment of Scotland as a distinct nationality, and much more after the decline and extinction of the "langage of the Northin lede" in England, the written language of Scotland became more and more conformed to that type of the Northern speech which was spoken on the shores of the Forth—in Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, and St. Andrews, the centre of political and ecclesiastical government, of the education, as well as the commerce of the kingdom; and, as a consequence, it came more and more to assume characteristics of its own, distinct from the Old Northern tongue, which had been common to Southern Scotland and Northern England. The substitution of a sound of *u* for the older *o*, as in *blud, buke*, for *blode, boke*, which was probably owing to Celtic influence,[1] took place, indeed, as

[1] The long Ags. *ó* has become, in English *oo*, as *moon, moor*, Ags. móna, mór. The sound of *oo* in m*oo*n, is a *double* or *compound* vocal effect, pro-

early as the middle of the 14th c.[1] But it was not till near the close of the 15th c. that the language assumed the chief features which it retained during the brilliant period of Scottish literature, and down to the union of the kingdoms. The most important of these has already been indicated, in comparing the older extracts from the *Brus*, preserved by Wyntown, with the later MS. of 1489, viz., the substitution of the combinations ai ay, ei ey, yi, oi oy, ui, oui, for the older a, e, i, o, u, ou (Ags. á, é, í, ó, ú). On examining the history of this change—which has been pronounced "an entirely independent development of the Scottish orthography, neither English nor French"—it appears that it arose from a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai, ei, oi*, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long *ā, ē, ō*, as is to a great extent the case in Gaelic at the present day. In that language, although the combinations *ai, ei, oi, ui*, are called diphthongs, in most cases the second vowel is not really heard, only influencing the following consonant so as to change it from the "broad" to the "small" sound. Thus ait, *glad*, baile, *town*, paidir, *paternoster*, eid, *clothe*, ceithir, *four*, beithir, *bear*, teisteas, *testimony*, poit, *pot*, oibrich, *to work*, toiseach, *beginning*, coinneal, *candle*, oillt, *terror*, cuirt, *court*, buitseach, *wizard*, uisge, *water*, seirbhis, *serve*, are pronounced *atch, ballay, patcher, aitch, kai'er, bai'er, cheshtshas, potch, obrikh, toshakh, conyel* or *cognel, oltch, coortch, bootshakh, ooshkay, sher-revish*, with the first vowel only heard. Even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct *i* sound, as in Eng. *ay, oil*, Germ. *bei, kaiser*, It. *mai, lei, lui, suoi*, but rather an obscure

duced by simultaneous action of the oral cavity and of the lips, as shown by Mr. Melville Bell in his "Visible Speech," where the composite character of *oo* was first pointed out. If the *labial* part of the process be removed, by holding the lips asunder while pronouncing *oo*, we obtain the lingual element alone, viz., the Gaelic sound represented by *ao*, as in *aon* one, *taobh* side, *laodh* calf. This sound being thus naturally connected with *oo*, was perhaps the form taken by Ags. ó in Scotland, and might form an intermediate step to the sound now given to *u* in muin, muir, which, though certainly labialized like the French *eu* in some parts of Scotland, in others is only formed by "internal rounding." That this produces something of the same effect, is shown by Gaelic orthoepists identifying their *ao* with the Fr. *eu*. Thus, Forbes—New Gaelic Grammar, Edin. 1848, p. 7—says, "AO has no similar sound in English; it is like the French *eu* or *eux*." It must be borne in mind, however, that the spelling *u* was not confined to Scotland; in Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience" and Prose Works we find *buke, luke*, as well as *boke, loke*.

[1] In the isolated words in the Early Laws, etc., *o* and *u* remain exactly as in Ags.; thus *blodi, coke-stole, oþer; utwere, utboruche, tun*, which afterwards became *bludie, cukstull, uthir, outweir, outbruche, toun*. The old spelling also appears in the interlineary gloss to a Latin indenture of lease between the Abbot of Scone and the Hays of Leys, dated 1312 (see Introd. to the *Brus*, by Prof. Cosmo Innes), in which we find the words *fode, other, comis, forutin, abute*, which later became *fude, uther, cumis, forowten, about;* but in the Minutes of the Parliament of 1389 (Acta Parl. Scot., vol. i. p. 210), and Precept to the Monks of Meuros, of the same year, to pass their wool free of custom into England (Liber de Melros, No. 480), the later spelling appears in full use; so that its introduction would almost seem to coincide with the recovery of Scottish independence.

vocal glide, like the Eng. *e* in the words drawer, layest, weighed, sayeth, seest, prayer, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given, in Central and N.E. Scotland, to the Ags. and French diphthongs, so that such words as *away, rain, slain, eyne, join, choice, rejoice, void* (from *Ags.* onwæȝ, ræȝen, sleȝen or slæȝen, eaȝan or eȝen, *Fr.* joigne, choix, rejouisse, voide), were pronounced awā-eh, rā-en, slā-en, ē-en, jō-en, chō-es, rejō-es, vō-ed, or awa', ra'ne, sla'ne, e'ne, jo'ne, cho'se, rejo'se, vo'd, and by-and-by appear in writing as simply *awa, rane, slane, jone, chose, reiose, vode.*[1] But more usually the original spelling was retained with the altered pronunciation (shown by such rhymes as bray—Lybia, refuse—dois, hale—tail, way—tha, sua—tway, etc.); and *ay, oi, ei*, being now looked upon merely as ways of expressing long *a, o, e*, etc., they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong, giving the well-known forms, *baith bayth boyth* (both), *maist mayst moyst* (most), *weill, wyif, thoill, schoyne, oyse* (use), *rois, clois, soir, moit, schouir, flouir, muir, buik.* Hence the alternative forms *mad, made, maid, mayd, mayde—tas, tase, tais, tays*, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period; as also the confusion between words originally distinct (and still distinct in the dialect of Southern Scotland and Northern England), such as tha, thai, thare, thair, made, maid, hale, hail.[2] This confusion is at times misleading, as where we read of "the tayl of the wolfe of the warldis end, the tail of the thre futtit dog of Norrouay, the tail of Syr Euan Arthours knycht, the tail of the thre weird systirs" (Compl. of Scot., chap. vi.); where, notwithstanding the context of dog and wolf, we are to understand not a *tail* that is wagged, but a *tale* that is told.

Among other changes which similarly began to make their mark on the written language, were the dropping of *g* and *d* after *n*, and consequent mixing of such distinct forms as *etand, etyng*, and even the confusion of both with the past participle *etyn.*[3] The loss of *t* in pronunciation after another consonant, as in *excep(t), direc(t)*, appears also, as well as the consequent writing of a silent *t* in the same position, as in *lentht, witht, moutht, taxt.*

[1] These imperfect diphthongs still characterize the Scottish dialects; *wa', awa', aa* I, *maa* my, are well known; but in the central and more northern districts such words as *ay, cry, fire*, are almost *eh!, crah', feh-er;* and Melville Bell gives in his "Visible Speech," p. 94, *æh'* as the common Scotch pronunciation of Eng. *eye.*

[2] *Tha* and *thai* or *thay* = those, they, are used indiscriminately by the writers of the Middle Period, showing that they had quite lost the feeling for the distinction between them. It is to be regretted that Prof. Innes, in editing *Barbour*, by whom they are always carefully distinguished, has printed them both *tha*, from not observing this distinction between early and more modern usage.

[3] The Celtic influence in the forms *lan', han', stan'*, is suggested by the Gaelic forms of such words as London, window, candle, island, *Lunuinn, uinneag, coinneal, eilean.* See also the similar forms in the Barony Forth dialect, ante p. 28.

The letter *l* becomes mute after the open vowels *a* and *o*, which it serves only to lengthen, and, having thus become a mere orthoepic sign, is inserted in words where it has no etymological force, as *chalmer, walter, polke,* for older *chambir, watyr, pok.* Such are some of the obvious peculiarities which distinguish the orthography of the Middle Period from that of the earlier writers; and most of them indicate modifications of pronunciation due to the contact of the North Anglian with the Celtic in Central Scotland. Many of them are not adopted by the dialect of the Southern Counties, which remains at the present day better represented by the language of Wyntown than by that of Gawain Douglas, and Lyndesay. On the other hand they form only a part of the changes which the language underwent in the extreme North, showing, for example, no specimen of the pronunciation of *wh* as *f*, as in the *fat, fan, fite,* of Moray and Buchan. Of *grammatical* changes, either in inflection or syntax, which can be attributed to Celtic influence, there are perhaps no traces in Scottish literature. Even in the modern dialects these are rare, though they are probably to be seen in the fondness for periphrastic verbal forms, such as "Ye'll be gaan'," "I'm sayan'," for You will go, I say; and a certain indirectness in the matter of tense, thus, "What was ye wantan'?" "I was wantan' to see you just for a minute," etc., for "What do you want?" "I want to see you." So "Wad ye be sae guid as—" etc., for "Will you be so good?" The additions to the *vocabulary* of the Literary Scotch of the 16th c. from the Celtic are also scanty, being confined mainly, though not entirely, to words referring to Celtic customs and institutions, such as *corinoch, bard* or *baird, Beltein;* add also, *bannock* or *bonnock, capyl* or *capul* (a mare), *ker-* or *car-*handed, left-handed. These words are much more numerous in the modern dialects, which lie near the Gaelic frontier; see, for example, the Rev. Walter Gregor's "Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson," published by the Philological Society in 1867. In the south of Scotland their number is not much greater than in ordinary English, in which we find more or less naturalized *crag, brae, cairn, colley, galore, creel, kerne, gillie, clann, tartan, plaid, philabeg, claymore, pibroch.* At the last word I pause; it is Celtic only in form. When the Highlander borrowed "the pipes" from his Lowland neighbour—making them so thoroughly his own that it now seems little short of heresy to refer to a time when the bagpipe was an English, not a Scottish instrument—he borrowed along with them the English names *pipe* and *piper,* which appear in Gaelic orthography as *piob, piobair* (pronounced *peep, peeper,* as in French *pipe,* and 16th c. English). From the latter, by the addition of a Celtic termination, was formed the abstract noun *piobaireachd* = piperage, pipership, piping; as from *màighstir* we have *màighstireachd,* master-ship, mastery. When the Sasunnach, having forgotten his own pipership, reimported the art from the Gael, he brought

with it the Gaelicised name *piobaireachd*, softened into *pibroch*, where the old English *piper* is so disguised in the Highland dress as to pass muster for a genuine Highlander.

The second influence which greatly modified the language of the Middle Period came from the French League. That famous

> Weill keipit ancient alliance,
> Maid betuix Scotland and the realme of france,[1]

through which the former managed to maintain the national independence regained in the 14th century, made her, to a great extent, the pupil of France in learning, art, and polity, during the two following centuries. Scotchmen completed their education at the University of Paris, and founded their own universities upon French models; the entire legal system of the country was transferred from France; and even the Presbyterian system of the Reformed Church was drawn up under the supervision of the great French Reformer. The connection between the two countries was of the closest nature, leaving its traces in almost every department of Scottish national life, and in none more so than the language. In addition to peculiarities of orthography, we have examples of the French construction being used as the model, contrary to the usage of the earlier writers. Perhaps one of the most notable of these instances of imitation is the use, by the writers of the Middle period, of the full numeral *an* or *ane*, instead of its contracted form, *a*, alike for article and numeral, and before a consonant as well as a vowel. This is generally recognized as a most characteristic Scottish usage, and the common theory has been to consider it as archaic—that is, to suppose that, while the English had dropped the *n* before a consonant by the year 1200, the Scottish had retained the full form, *ane man, ane toune*, like the Anglo-Saxon án man, án tún. But the fact seems to have been overlooked that *ane man, ane toune*, were not *Old Scotch*; that the early writers, like those who employed the same dialect in England, used *a* and *an* (oftener written *ane*) just as we do at the present day. Such is the case in the old Laws, in Barbour, Wyntown, Harry the Minstrel, Holland's Howlate, the old poem of Cockelbie's Sow, The King's Quair, and even in Christis Kirk of the Grene. The extracts from the old Laws (page 31) fully exemplify this usage, as do the following:—

Barbour:—

> For he wald in his chambre be
> *A* weill gret quhile in privaté,
> With him *a* clerk for-owtyn ma.
>
> *A* king of *a* gret reawte.
>
> He entryt in ane[2] narow place
> Betuix *a* louchside and *a* bra.

[1] Lyndesay — Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene.

[2] This curious use of *an* before *n* is common in Barbour, reminding us of the confusion between áne nædre, a nadder and an adder; a nere (a kidney) and an ere; a nest and an est; ane efete, ane evete, an eft, and a neft or newt; a natter-cop and an etter-cop; an ag aud a nag, &c., &c.

the thryd wes ane
That rowyt thaim our delyverly,
That in *a* nycht and in *a* day
Cummyn out our the louch ar thai.

Wyntown:— *A* nycht he (Macbeth) thowcht in hys dremyng,
That syttand he wes besyd þe kyng
At *a* sete in huntyng; swa
In-til his leisch had grew-hundys twa.

God of þe Deuyl sayd in *a* quhile,
As I have herd red the Vangyle,
He is, he sayd, *a* leare fals.

A yhok of oxyn Makbeth saw fayle.

Harry:— Ane Ersche mantill it war thy kynd to wer,
A Scottis thewtill under thy belt to ber.

But a richt straik Wallace him gat that tyde.

Ane abbot passed, and gaif our this legiance.

For weill he wut thar suld be bot *a* king
Off this regioun at anys for to ryng.

Without the place ane ald bulwark was maid.

Holland:— Sa come the ruke with a rerd and a rane roch,
A bard out of Ireland with Bannachadee
Said gluntow guk dynyd dach hala mischy doch,
Raike her a rug of the rost, or scho sall ryive thé.

Brym as a bair
He couth cary the cowpe of the kyngis des,
Syn leve in the sted
Bot a black bun-wed;
He couth of a hennis hed
Make a mane mes.

Cockelbie's Sow:— A lunatyk, a sismatyk,
An heretyk, a purs-pyk,
A Lumbard, a Lolard,
An usurar, a bard,
An ypocreit in haly kirk,
A burn-grenge in the dirk.

King's Quair:— Quhare in a lusty plane tuke I my way,
Endlang *a* ryuer plesand to behold.

And efter this the birdis everichone
Tuke up ane other sang full loud and clere,
And with *a* voice said, Well is us begone,
That with our makis are togider here.

Christis Kirk:— Ane hasty hensure callit Hary,
Quha wes ane archer heynd,
Tilt up a taikle withouten tary,
That torment sa him teynd.

But in "Peblis to the Play" we find constantly the *ane* of the Middle period, which, were we sure of having the original orthography, would indicate the latter to be a more recent production; but no MSS. of either exists of earlier date than late in the 16th century, and of course we cannot tell how the spelling was treated by the transcribers. The very old poem of Rauf Coil3ear,

which exists only in a printed copy of 1572, and the whole orthography of which has been assimilated to that of the 16th century, also of course uses *ane*. The poems and fables of Henrysoun,[1] who lived till 1478, shew some of them the one, some the other form. Compare

> I say this be Euridice the quene,
> Quhilk walkit furth in till a Maij mornyng,
> And with a madyn, in a medowe grene,
> To tak the dewe, and se the flouris spring;
> Quhar in a schawe, nere by this lady ying,
> A busteouſ hird callit Arystyus,
> Kepand his bestis, lay under a buſ.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*, l. 92.

with

> Than in ane mantill and ane bavar hat,
> With cop and clapper, wonder prively,
> He opnit ane secreit yett, and out thairat
> Convoyit her, that na man suld espy,
> Unto ane village, half ane myle thairby.—*Test. of Cresseid*, 386.

Henrysoun lived just in the transition period: the age and state of the MSS. would probably shew whether the diversity of usage is due to this or to subsequent transcription.[2] The Acts of the Scottish Parliament from James I. to James V. furnish complete data for the entrance of this Middle Scotch *ane* in room of the older *a*. Instances of *ane* before a consonant are extremely rare before 1475; after this date it becomes more frequent, and the regular form after 1500.

Now whence was this sudden appearance of *ane* towards the end of the 15th century? It is not in accordance with what we know of the life of languages that a form, which had been obsolete for at least 300 years, should spontaneously start again into life. My own impression is that it was introduced in literature and set speech in imitation of the French, so that the Sc. *ane kyng* answered to the French *un roi*—that is, both *one king* and *a king*. I doubt whether *ane kyng* was used in the language of common life; nobody said so from the days of Alexander III. to those of James III.; nobody has said so in Scotland within living memory. The tongue of Barbour and Harry is still that of the people, and we can hardly imagine the two periods, which have all the marks of continuity, uncomformably severed by one with a different usage.

Another very evident trace of French fashion is found in the plural form given to certain pronouns and adjectives, as *quhilkis*, the *quhilkis* personnis, the *saidis*, the *for-saidis*, *uthiris*, *principallis*, Fr. les-quels, les dits, les sus-dits, les autres, principaux. These were perhaps first introduced in legal verbiage, but became quite usual in the writers of the Middle Period.

[1] Edited by D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1865.

[2] Since writing the above, I have looked into the subject, and feel no doubt that the difference is due to the dates of the existing copies. The poems having *ane* are those taken from MSS. or printed copies late in the 16 c.

Thay dividit the pray and spule3eis, *quhilkis* war takin fra the *saidis* theiffis amang the remanent herdis of that regioun.—*Bellenden's* Livy, Cap. II.

Thir sacrificis onely ressavit Romulus of all the *uthiris* solemniteis, *quhilkis* war that time accustomit in the warld.—*Ibid.* Cap. III.

> The foure gret vertues cardinalis,
> I see thame with thé principalis.[1]
>
> *Lyndesay*, The Complaynt.

As in the case of *ane*, so in that of *quhilkis, saidis*, &c., the usage of the 16th century is not that of the present spoken dialects; whence we may infer that it never became thoroughly naturalized. But in the very remarkable instance of the Personal Pronouns, the current usage is, as will be seen in the Grammar, not that of the English and Teutonic, but that of the French; there being a special Nominative and Objective, as well as an Indirect case, like *moi, toi, lui,* used for both Nominative and Objective in certain positions.

A large accession to the vocabulary of the Scottish writers of this period was another important result of the league. Many French words which had entered the more Southern dialects during the Norman Period, and in their Norman forms, and had long been thoroughly assimilated to the other elements of the English language, but which had not been accepted by the Northern dialect, were now adopted by the Scottish writers in their later French form, and form a *bizarre* and incongruous element in the language. Such are gloir, memoire (memory), abil3ement (habillement), arrace (arracher), ane (an ass), assol3ie, balein (whalebone), barbare, baston (a staff), burdoun (a pilgrim's staff), cahute, compacience, covatyce, cure (care), debonaire, deray, disprise, dedein3ie, ensei3nie, exerce, fein3ie, fenester, fail3ie, feul3eis (feuilles, still preserved in fether-fuil3ie or fether-fuillie, feverfew), gal3eard, garnisoun, gentrice, gouvernaill, gyane, jerefloure, ische, istablit, laurer, lawte, lammer (l'ambre), mal-eis, mallewrus (malheureux), mandements, manjory (a banquet,) matalent (fury), merjolyne (marjoram), moblis or meublis (furniture), moyen, mural3eis, nouellis = news, nurice, ol3ie or uil3ie (*huile*), orlege, parage, paregale, (perfectly equal), pastance (passe-temps), perfurnis, pyssance, plein3ie, plesaunce, poune, powne, (*paon*, a peacock), pourpoure, prattik, pun3e (a handful, *poignée*), rail3eare, randoune, remeid, repaitrit, rewis (*rues*, streets), reddoure, roche, rounge (to gnaw), roy—

> King Iames the first, Roy of this Regioun,
> Said David was ane sair sanct to the croun.
>
> *Lyndesay*, Satyre.

[1] We must therefore qualify Mr. Morris's statement (Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. xlv.), "The plural of Adjectives (mostly of Romance origin) in *-es*, as *wateres principales*, is unknown to the Northern dialect." It was regularly used in the Middle Scottish period.

salust, sclavis, scripture (a writing-case, *éscriptoire*), sege (seat), supplé, succure (*sucre*), syrurgiane, tailȝeis (taillées), trelȝeis (curry-combs), velis (calves), viage (journey), vesy, volounte, bew, as in bew schirris, *beaux sieurs*, fair sirs—

Lo this is all; bew schirris, haue gude day!—*Douglas.*

Most of these are obsolete in the modern dialects, or exist only in a more English form, as glorie, memorie, cair, disdain, gairrison, suggar, &c. But among French words, or words in a French form, which have been retained, we may note, *gigot*, *ashet* (assiette), *taiss* or *tasse*, *fulzie* (fouillé—the sweepings and refuse of the town), *glaur* (glaire), *porte* (the gate of a town), *gein* (guigne—a black-hearted cherry), *grosel* (groseille), *corbie* (corbeau), *houlette*, *botynes* (bottines, buskins), *servit*, *serviot* (serviette), *drogue*, *droguiste*, *cordiner* (cordonnier), *tour* (turn—wait tyll yer ain *toor* cums), *gou* or *gow* (gout, an after-taste or peculiar flavour), *malisoun*, *boule* (a ball, a globular body generally, as a sugar-boule, a butter-boule[1]), *dour* (dur, hard, stubborn), *douce* (sedate, gentle); *touc* o' drum (*touche* ant. *toque*, stroke, blow, similarly applied), to *casse*, *causey* (chaussée, the street pavement), *pennair* (a pen-holder), *cuinzie*, *uilȝie*, *spuilȝie*, *dule* or *duil* (Douglas writes the full *deuil*), *vague* (to ramble), *vaque* (to be vacant), *vacance* (vacation), *fasch* (to trouble—fâcher), *faschis* (fâcheuse), *dam*-brod (the board on which is played the *jeu aux dames*, draughts), *mouture* (miller's fee in kind), *sussy* (souci—I sussy not), *baillie* (still pronounced in the Southern counties with the liquid *l*—*bailȝea*, baylyea, like the Fr. *bailli*), *contraire*, *ordinaire*, *extraordinaire*, *necessaire*; not to speak of those which retain the Fr. *u* or *ou*, as *cure*, *lute*, *sure*, *duc*, *tour* (tower), *doute*, *court*, *course*; or accent the final syllable, like *govérn*, *confórt*, *reálm*, *reaúme*; or have a pronunciation founded upon the French spelling, as *maintein*, *sustein*, *contein*, *pertein*.[2] From the same language were derived the old names of the months; with the French Janvier,

[1] "Have you any *bulls* here?" asked an English gentleman of a herd-laddie, whose cattle blocked the straight path up a mountain. "Eh?" "I want to know if you have any *bulls?*" "Bools —ooh ay!" and plunging his hand into his breeches pocket, he produced a *neffu'* of *marbles*.

[2] The common name for a domestic *pig*, in the south of Scotland, is *guissie*. Seeing that the French *gueuset*, which is nearly identical in pronunciation, means a *pig* of iron, I have wondered if the Scotch word could be, in some indirect way, connected with the French, and have asked H.I.H. Prince L. L. Bonaparte, if there are any traces of *gueuset* being applied to a living pig in the French dialects. The Prince states that *gueuset* is only used in the metallurgic sense, but gives the following interesting note as to forms not unlike *guissie* in various French patois: —"*Geuset* is a metallurgic word, and simply the diminutive of *gueuse*, also a metallurgic word, which means *cast pig*, *pig iron*. I am not aware that this word is used for *pig* (*cochon*, *porceau*) in any of the French dialects, but I find in them: *coutzou* in Auvergnat, *gouzi* in the patois of Vesoul, *coiço*, *goré*, *gorrè*, *cosso*, in other vernaculars. The French *cochon*, and the Spanish *cochino*, as well as *coutzou*, and *coiço*, are not without a certain resemblance to your *geussie*, but the *gozein* of the Italian dialect of Parma beats them all."

Fevrier, Avril, and Juillet, compare the Scotch forms Janevar, Janevere, Janiveir, Janiveer, Janeuar, Janueir, Januar; Feverer, Februeir, Februar; Averil, Aperil, Apreyle; Julet, Julȝie, Juilȝie, Juillie.

Quhar art thov May, with Iune thy syster schene,
Weill bordourit with dasyis of delyte?
And gentle Julet with thy mantyll grene,
Enamilit with rosis reid and quhyte?
Now auld and cauld Ianevar in dispyte,
Reiffis from us all pastyme and plesoure.
Allace! quhat gentyll hart may this indure?
Lyndesay—The Dreme.

If the grass grow in Janiveer
'T will be the worse for 't a' the year.

March said to Averil
I see three hoggs on yonder hill,
And if you'll lend me dayis three,
I'll find a way to gar them dee.
R. Chambers—Popular Rhymes of Scotland.

But the French was not the only foreign source whence the Scottish writers of this period added to their native vocabulary. The Latin, from which English writers had already begun to borrow, was drawn upon in far more wholesale fashion by their brethren in the north. The circumstances which led to this have been thus stated by the learned author of "The Scot Abroad":—"A free access to this great medium for the exchange of thought (the Latin of the learned world) was one of the compensating benefits which the Scots derived from the contest with England. The exclusion of the Scots scholars from English ground only prompted their aspiring spirits to seek a wider arena of distinction, and they found it in securing to themselves as an audience the learned men of all the world. When there arose two distinct languages, an English and a Scottish, the latter afforded a far too limited intellectual dominion to satisfy the ambition of Scottish men of letters; hence they had recourse to Latin." If the Scottish writer "was to speak to an audience worth collecting, it must be in Latin. It is not correct to speak of the Latin as a dead language among Scots scholars . . . they drew in their own way on the resources of the language used by them, adapted it to the purposes of a new order of society, and made it the vehicle of original and striking thoughts." (Vol. II., p. 27-28.) This familiarity with Latin led them to "adorn," and too often to overload and embarrass, the vernacular with a profusion of terms adopted from that language, many of them formed in accordance with the genius of the French rather than of the English, and including a very large number which the English has not admitted. As specimens of these "aureate" but grotesque elements, with which the poets of the 16th century bristle, may be given the adjectives, *dulce, amene, decore, preclair, illustir, frustir, celical* (heavenly), *degest* (grave), *facund, mansuete, prosper, humile, innative, redymyte, superne, inferne, eterne, matutine, hodiern,*

sempitern, matern, fructuous, meridiane, mellifluate; the nouns, *vult* (countenance), *flum* (torrent, flumen), *spelunk* (a den), *macul* or *maikle* (stain), *habitakle, umbrakle, veir* or *vere* (spring), *fuge* (a fleer), *lucerne* (torch), *plagis* (zones), *imperatrice, genitrice, gemmel* (twin), *vilipention, ingyne, inobedience, contemption, distemperance, mansuetude, pulcritude, celsitude, dompnationis, conjuratiouns, occisioun* (slaughter), *penurité;* the verbs, *proport, prevert, propyne, descrive, determe, precell,* and a series of verbs derived from the infinitive of the Latin, where the English has adopted a form from the past participle, and *vice versâ,* such as *promyt, dispone, propone, depone, promove, expreme, posseid, conqueis, acqueis, exerce, incluse, perversit.* The past participles of such verbs as ended in *t* often took no additional *it,* as *statut, institut, constitut, depaint, creat, deput,* or the Latin participle was used without the case ending, as *disjunct, determinat, illuminat, fabricat, dedicat, insinuat,* &c., of which usage traces still remain in the spoken dialect, as in the phrases, "it was statut and ordainit," "the chapel was dedicat," "a suit was institut," "a sheriff deput."

It is surprising, however, how few of these foreign accretions remained as permanent elements of the language. The case would doubtless have been different had the language of the 16th century been perpetuated as a literary medium. As it is, the speech of the people has cast out most of these foreign ingredients, and remains almost as purely Teutonic as it was in the 13th and 14th centuries; and indeed the Scotchman of the present day finds Barbour and Hampole, in spite of their more distant date, nearer to him by centuries than Dunbar and Gawain Douglas, with all the efforts of the latter to "mak it brade and plane." It is proper also to add that the prose writers, of whom Scotland produced several during this period, were in general less given to the use of these *lang-nebbit* words than their brethren the *makars.* No better specimen of the language of the Middle Period in its classical purity exists than the vigorous prose of Johnne Bellenden, or Ballantyne, Archden of Murray. From his "Traductioun" of Livy, executed for James V. in 1533, I quote the following passage:—

"Thir desiris war nocht displesand to Tullius, howbeit Mecius Fufficius was at this time mair feirs than he was, baith in curage and hope of victorie. At last, quhen thay had socht on all sidis how this mater micht be dressit, ane reponabill way was found, to quhilk fortoun gaif sufficient occasioun to discuss this pley; for in ilk ane of thir armyis war thre brethir, nocht unlike to utheris in yeris and strenth; thay quhilkis war in the Romane army war namit Horacianis, and thir uthir, quhilkis war in the Albane cumpany, namit Curacianis. Thair is nane uthir opinioun, that is authorist amang oure anciant faderis, mair illuster and nobill than is this opinioun; and thocht the said Historie be notabil, yit it is sum erroure, nocht knawing quhilk of thir twa pepill war callit

Horacianis, and quhilk Curacianis. Ilk opinioun has sufficient auctoriteis; nochtheles, I find monyest auctoriteis saying, the Romane brethir war Horacianis; and thairfore, I applaude to thair opinioun.

"The twa princis afore namit tretis with thir sex brethir to fecht aganis uthir with scharpe and grundin swerdis to the deith, for defence of thair naciounis and pepill; with sic condicioun, that the empire and liberte sall stand perpetually with the samin pepill quhare victorie war presentlie fallin. Thir sex brethir refusit nocht thir condiciouns; and sone eftir thay war aggreit baith of day and place for battal. Yit afore the battal, ane band was maid betwix Romanis and Albanis, undir thir ferme condiciounis: Of quhilkis pepill the cieteyanis war victorius, that samin pepill sall regne with perpetual empire abone that uthir, but ony eftir rebellioun. Mony uthir bandis war roborat betwix the twa pepill, with uthir condiciounis, howbeit the samin war maid all to the samin effett. We find all thingis done in this wise, as we have schawin; for of ony uthir mair anciant band of confideracioun is na memorie.

"The form of aith maist faithfully corroborat, in maner afore rehersit, betwix the twa pepill; thir sex brethir, as wes convenit, tuke thair armoure and wappinnis. Than ilk side began to exhort thair cieteyanis and campiounis to schaw thair manhede and vassalage, saying thair goddis, thair landis, thair liberte, and every uthir thingis pertening to thaim, baith at hame and of feild, dependit on the chance of thair battall, and beheld thair fechting that day. Thir brethir, feirs and ful of curage, rasit to extreme jeoperdie of armes, be hortacioun of thair native and kindelie nacioun, come furthe to the campe betwix baith the oistis, quhilkis stude campit about thaim on every side, and richt pensive in thair mindis; for thocht thay war exonerat of all present dangere, thay war, yit, ful of grete sollicitude and thocht; for thair empire wes set on the fortoun and vertewe of thir fewe campiounis. Baith the pepill, ereckit sum time in esperance of victorie, and sum time suspendit betwix hope and drede, beheld the unthankful sicht.

"At last, quhen the signe, be blast of trumpat, wes gevin to jone, thir sex brethir, inflammit with sprete, and curage of baith the oistis, ruschit, with maist penetrive and awful wapinnis, like the bront of twa armyis togiddir; for nouthir this nor that side regardit thair propir dommage or slauchter, bot alanerlie tuke sicht to the public empire, to the public liberte, and public servitude, following be the chance of thair battall; knawing weill sic fortoun suld stand perpetualie to thair pepill as they wan that day. Als sone as thair bricht armoure, be feirs concursioun, resoundit in the aire, and thair schinand swerdis begouth to glance; incontinent, ane huge trimling invadit all the pepill that beheld this batall. And, becaus nouthir this nor that oist saw, as yit, ony signe of victorie appere, baith thair voce wes rank, and

thair sprete solist and dull, quwhen thir brethir war fechtand togidder hand for hand. Nocht alanerlie apperit the ithand mocioun of thair bodyis, and weilding of thair doutsum and dangerus swerdis and dartis, bot als thair rude and wide woundis, springand with rede stremes of blude, apperit to the sicht of the pepill.

"In the mene time, twa of the Romane brethir, woundit and slane, fell doun, ilk ane abone uthir. All the thre Albane brethir beand, for the time, woundit cruelly and hurte, the fall and slauchter of thir twa Romane brethir maid the Albanis to rejose, with vehement noyis and clamoure. Yit the Romane legiounis war nocht halelie destitute of curage, howbeit they war pensive in thair mindis; havand, as than, na esperance bot in the thrid broder, namit Horaciane, quhilk wes inclusit amang the thre Albane brethir namit Curacianis. This Horaciane hapinnit, as than, to be haill, but ony stres or hurte of body; and wes of sic strenth, that, howbeit he micht nocht be equale partie to fecht aganis all the thre Curacianis atanis, yit he micht haif fochtin aganis thaim all, ilk ane eftir uthir. And thairfore, to skail thaim in sindry partis, he began to fle; traisting ilk ane of thaim, be this way, ay to follow on him, as the hurte or woundis of thair bodyis micht suffir for the time.

"Now wes the Horaciane fled fra the place quhare he faucht afore, and lukand behind him, saw all thir thre Curacianis following on him as fast as thay micht, ilk ane severit ane large space fra uthir, and ane of thaim nocht far fra him. Incontinent, he returnit with grete force on this nerrest Curaciane, quhil the Albanis war criand, with schil noyis, on the remanent Curacianis to support thair brothir. This Horaciane had slane his fallow, and enterand with new victorie on the secund Curaciane. Then the oist of Romanis began to help their campioun, with sic clamoure as effrayit pepill hes quhen ony gude fortoun fallis abone thair esperance. This forcy campioun maid him, with grete diligence, to end this bataill, afore the thrid brothir, quhilk wes nocht far distant, micht cum to his supporte; and finalie, slew the secund brothir.

"Now, wes nocht bot man for man on athir side, with equale chance of batall: howbeit, thay nouthir equale in strenth of body nor esperance of victorie; for this ane deliver and but ony wound of body, havand double victorie of inemyis, come mair feirsly to fecht in the thrid bataill, that he had sa recent victorie. That uthir, ouirset with bleding of his woundis, and fast rink to haif supportit his brether, and nere discomfist for thair slauchter afore his ene, enterit in the batall aganis his victorius inemye, and maid bot smal debait. This Horaciane, rejosing in his minde, said, 'I haif send twa brethir to hell; and I sal send the thrid, quhilk is occasioun of our debait, the samin gate: to that fine, that the Romanis, in times cuming, may regne with perpetual empire above the Albanis.' And incontinent, he straik this thrid

brothir, quhilk micht skarslie bere up his wapinnis, in the thrappill, and spulyeit him baith of his life and armoure at anis."

The "Complaynt of Scotland" (written 1548), already referred to, is an extreme specimen of the Frenchified style. We have read the author's declamation against the use of "lang-tailit words," and "oncoutht exquisite termis," and his determination "nocht til hef fardit and lardit this tracteit with exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht dalie usit, but rather to hef usit domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil to the vulgare pepill." With which declaration of principles compare his exordium—"To the *excellent* and *illustir* Marie Queen of Scotlande (the Queen Regent Marie de Guise), the *margareit* and perle of *princessis*. The *immortal gloir* that *procedis* be the rycht *lyne* of *vertu*, fra ȝour *magnanime auansing* of the *public* veil of the *affligit realme* of Scotlande, is *abundantly dilatit* athort al *cuntreis*, throucht the quhilk the *precius germe* of ȝour *nobilite*, bringis nocht furtht alanerly *branchis* and *tendir* leyvis of *vertu*; bot as veil it bringis furtht *salutiffere* and *hoilsum frute* of *honour*, quhilk is ane *immortal* and *supernatural medicyne*, to *cure* & to gar *conuallesse* al the *langorius desolat* & *affligit pepil*, quhilkis are al-mast *disparit* of mennis *supple*, ande reddy to be *venquest* & to be cum *randrit* in the *subiection* and *captiuité* of our *mortal* ald *enemeis*, be *rason* that ther *cruel inuasions aperis* to be *onremedabil*. The *special cause* of oure *afflictione* hes *procedit* of thre *vehement* plagis quhilk hes al maist *succumbit* oure *cuntre* in *final euertione*, that is to saye, the *cruel inuasions* of our ald *enemeis*, the *vniuersal pestilens* and *mortalite*, that hes *occurit mercyles* amang the *pepil*, and the *contentione* of *diuerse* of the thre *estaitis* of scotland, throucht the quhilk thre plagis, the *vniuersal pepil* ar be cum *distitute* of *iustice policie* ande of al *verteus* bysynes of body and saul. Ande nou, *illustir princes*, *engendrit* of *magnanime genoligie*, & *discendit* of *Royal progenituris*, ȝour *regement* ande *gouernyng*, ande alse ȝour *honorabil amplitude* of *verteouse dignite incressis* daly in the *contenual auansing* of the *deffens* of oure *cuntre*, quhar for ȝour *heroyque vertu* is of mair *admiratione*, nor vas of *valeria* the dochter of the *prudent consul publicola*, or of *cloelia*, *lucresia*, *penolope*, *cornelia*, *semiramis*, *thomaris*, *penthasillie*, or of any vthir *verteouse* lady that *plutarque* or *bocchas* hes *discriuit*, to be in *perpetual memore*. for al thair *nobil actis* ar nocht to be *comparit* to the *actis* that ȝour *prudens* garris daly be *exsecut*, *contrar* the *cruel* woffis of ingland. And nou sen the *deceis* of oure *nobyl illustir prince* Kying iames the fyift, ȝour vmquhile *faythtful* lord and hisband, tha said *rauisant* wolfis of ingland hes *intendit* ane *oniust* weyr be ane *sinister inuentit false titil contrar* our *realme*, in hope to *devoir* the *vniversal* floc of oure scottis *natione*, ande to *extinct* oure *generatione* furtht of *rememorance*. Ther is na *prudent* man that wil *iuge* that this *pistil procedis* of *assentatione* or *adulatione*, *considerant* that we may see *perfytlye* quhou that ȝour *grace* takkis *pane* to duelle in ane *straynge cuntre distitute* of *iustice* Ande als ȝour *grace* beand *absent* fra ȝour only ȝong dochter, our

nobil princes, and rychteous *heretoure* of Scotland; quha is *presentlye* veil *tretit* in the *gouernance* of hyr fadir of lau, the maist *illustir potent prince* of the maist *fertil* and *pacebil realme*, vndir the *machine* of the *supreme olimp*, quhar that ȝour grace mycht *remane* & duel amang the *nobil princis & princessis* of *France*, quhilkis ar ȝour *natiue* frendis of *consanguinite* and *affinite* ande ther ȝe mycht *posses abundance* of al *pleiseirs* mast *conuenient* for your *nobilite*, &c."

§ 16. We can hardly accept the foregoing as "domestic Scottis langage, maist intelligibil to the vulgare pepill"; it may, perhaps, be taken as a specimen of what it was, under French influences, becoming, when a much more potent influence appeared to alter the whole complexion of the matter. The Reformation, which ushered in such a brilliant period in the literature of England, proved adverse to the independent growth of the language of Scotland. It was not merely that the effulgence of the Elizabethan era made contemporary Scottish literature grow dim in contrast. There was no translation of the Scriptures into the Northern dialect; for the first forty years of the Reformation movement, these and other books used by the adherents of the new faith had to be obtained from England. Compare Lyndesay, "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis," l. 1144:—

> Quhat buik is that, harlot, into thy hand?
> Out! walloway! this is the New Testment,
> In Englisch toung, and printit in England!
> Herisie! herisie! fire! fire! incontinent.

and "Kitteis Confessioun," l. 19:—

> Quod he, "Ken ȝe na Heresie?"
> "I wait nocht quhat that is," quod sche;
> Quod he, "Hard ȝe na *Inglis Bukis?*"
> Quod scho, "My maister on thame lukis:"
> Quod he, "The Bischop that sall knaw!"

Moreover, the adherents of the Reformed faith, with the Lords of the Congregation at their head, were, from the necessities of the political situation—in opposition to the French or Catholic party—an English party, in intimate correspondence with the Protestant leaders in England; and the two causes—the dependence of Scotland upon England for the Bible, and the relations of the leaders of the movement with England—soon produced a marked assimilation to the contemporary English in their language. This is apparent, even in the writings of Sir David Lyndesay, especially in his more important works, such as "The Monarché," and "The Tragedy," where we have constantly the forms, *go, also, quho, quhois*, and even *one*, used like the Scotch *ane*.[1] The writings of Knox, renowned as he was for his eloquence

[1] But there is reason to believe that Lyndesay, like his predecessors, Dunbar and Gawain Douglas, owed much of this *Anglicism* to familiarity with Chaucer and the other English poets of his age, and to imitation, conscious or unconscious, of their language.

in the "Scottis leid," are still more English in form; witness the following passage, which at once exemplifies his style, and illustrates this connection between the two dialects:—

"And so by Act of Parliament [March 15th, 1543] it was maid free to all, man and woman, to reid the Scriptures in thair awin toung, or in the Engliss toung; and so war all Actes maid in the contrair abolished. This was no small victorie of Christ Jesus, feghting against the conjured ennemyes of his verite; not small conforte to such as befoir war holdin in such bondage, that thei durst not have red the Lordis Prayer, the Ten Commandimentis, nor Articules of thare faith in the Engliss toung, but thei should have bene accused of heresye. Then mycht have bene sein the Byble lying almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table. The New Testament was borne about in many manis handes. We grant that some (allace!) prophaned that blessed wourd; for some that perchance had never red two sentences in it, had it maist common in thare hand; they wold chope thare familiares on the cheak with it, and say, 'This hes lyne hyd under my bed-feitt these ten yearis.' Otheris wold glorie, 'O how oft have I bein in danger for this booke; how secreatlie have I stollen fra my wyff at mydnycht to reid upoun it.' . . . Then ware sett furth werkis in our awin toung, besydis those that came from England, that did disclose the pryde, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Romane Antichrist."—*Life and Works of Knox*, Wodrow Soc., ed. D. Laing.

Notice, who, whose, so, from, such, would, should, hold, told, these, those, for the Scotch, quha, quhais, sa, fra, sic, wald, suld, hald, tauld, thir, tha, &c.

Elsewhere, in quoting or applying Scripture texts, the language of Knox becomes entirely English, even to the Southern verbal forms in *-est, -eth,* for the Northern *-s*:—

"Thow wilt say, 'Whairfoir doith God command us that which is impossible for us?' I ansuere, 'To mack thee know that thow art bot evill, and that thair is no remeady to save thee in thine awin hand; and that thow mayest seak a remeady at some uther; for the law doith nothing butt command thee.'"

The copies of the Scriptures referred to by Knox were of course from England; another generation passed, and Knox himself died before the first edition was printed in Scotland, by Arbuthnot and Bassendyne, in 1576-79. This was regarded as a great national work, each parish in the kingdom being required to contribute £5 toward the expense. In the address of the General Assembly, upon its completion, they say:—"O what difference between thir days of light, when almost in every private house the book of God's law is read and understood in *our vulgar language* and the age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city, without the cloisters of monks and friers, could the book of God once be found." A few months afterwards it was enacted in parliament that each householder worth a certain sum of money

should have in his house a Bible and psalm book in the vulgar tongue. It is a proof how thoroughly the use of the English Bible by three generations had familiarized the people of Scotland with the literary language of the Southern kingdom, that this "Bible in the vulgar tongue" was the English Geneva version, without the slightest attempt at Northern adaptation, either in words or spelling. The parable of the sower, Matthew xiii. 3, will serve as a specimen:—

"Then he spake many things to them in parables, saying, Behold a sower went forth to sowe, (4) And as he sowed some fel by the wayes side, and the foules came and deuoured them vp; (5) And some fel vpō stonie grounde, where they had not much earth, and anone they sprong vp because they had no depe of earth. (6) And when the sunne rose vp, they were parched, and for lacke of rooting withred away. (7) And some fel amōg thornes, & the thornes sprong vp and choked them. (8) Some againe fel in good grounde & broght forth frute one corne an hundreth folde, some sixtie folde, and another thirtie folde. (9) He that hath eares to heare, let hī heare."

The same version is quoted in Lyndesay's "Satyre," ed. 1602, l. 2908, where it is all the more striking from contrast with the vernacular by which it is surrounded:—

GUDE COUNSALL.

Luik quhat Sanct Paul wryts vnto Timothie.
Tak, thair, the Buik: lat se gif ȝe can spell.

SPIRITUALITIE.

I never red that. Thairfoir, reid it ȝour sel.

(Gude Counsall sall reid thir wordis on ane Buik.)

Fidelis Sermo: si quis Episcopatum desiderat, &c.

That is:—

This is a true saying: If any man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a worthie worke. A Bishop, therefore, must be vnreproueable, the husband of one wife, &c.

Thir ar the verie words of th' Apostill Paull.

The quotations made by the author of the "Complaynt" seem to be translations or paraphrases of his own made directly from the Vulgate, and are of course in Scotch, as are also the Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Ordinances of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and other portions prefixed to the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis," 1578.[1] These, though affected by the English orthography, afford an idea of what a Scottish version of the Scriptures would have been, had it been completed:—

"The keyis of heuin will I giue vnto thé, quhat sa euer thow sal bind vpon the eird, salbe bound also in heuin; and quhat sa euer thow sall louse vpon the eird, salbe lowsit also in heuin. Quhais sinnis ȝe forgiue, ar forgiuen vnto them, and quhais sinnis ȝe retene, ar retenit vnto them."—Matt. xvi.

The metrical version of the Psalms, adopted in 1564-5, was,

[1] Reprinted by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1868

like the Bible, in the literary English; but two black-letter editions published in Edinburgh used the Scotch orthography. Comparing William Kethe's Old Hundred, in the English edition, Edinburgh, 1565, with that in the black letter of about 1578, we see how closely the latter followed the English:—

English, 1565.[1]	Scotch, 1578.
All people that on earth do dwell	Al pepill that on eirth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with chereful voyce,	Sing to the Lord with cheirfull voce,
Him serve with feare, his praise foorth tel,	Him serve with feir, his praise forth tell,
Come ye before him and rejoyce.	Come ȝe befoir him and rejoyce.
The Lord, ye knowe, is God in dede,	The Lord, ȝe knaw, is gude indeid,
Without our aide he did us make,	Without our aide he did us mak,
We are his flocke, he doth us fede,	We ar his folk: he dois us feid,
And for his shepe he doth us take.	And for his scheip he dois us tak.
O enter, then, his gates with praise,	Och! enter then his gaitis with praise,
Approche with joye his courtes unto,	Approche with joy his cŏurtis unto:
Praise, laude, and blesse his Name alwayes,	Praise, laude, and blys his Name alwayis,
For it is semely so to do.	For it is semelie so to do.
For why? the Lord our God is good,	For quhy? the Lord our God is gude,
His goodness is for ever sure,	His mercy is for ever sure:
His treuth at all tymes firmely stoode,	His trueth at all tymes firmelie stude,
And shal from age to age indure.	And sall from age to age indure.

Here the English construction is followed word for word, even to the transference of *do* dwell, *did* mak, *dois* feid, *dois* tak, in which the *do* is, in Southern English dialects, a living part of the language, forming a *habitual* tense[2] (as in the Cornish and Welsh), not a mere stop-gap to eke out a line or coax a rhyme. In that dialect it had appeared as early as the date of the Ancren Riwle (about 1225), where we have, Lif þi luue nis nout for to ȝiuen, auh wult allegate þet me bugge hire: do seie hwu—If thy love is not to be given, but thou wilt by all means that it be bought, *do* say how! (fol. 110). ȝif þu hauest leaue, cweð he, do sting, ȝif þu meih—If thou hast leave, quoth he, *do* sting, if thou mayest (fol. 161). Dina, Jacobes douhter, eode vt uor to biholden uncuðe wummen: lo ȝet ne seið hit nouht þet heo biheld weopmen; auh deð wummen"—Dinah Jacob's daughter *geade* out for to behold unco' women: lo yet it says not that she beheld men, but it *does* (say) women (fol. 123). But in the old Northern dialect, *do say*, *he dois us fede*, would have meant, *make* or *gar say*, *he makes us feed*.

He sal *do* rise alle maumentri
And clepe him godd self al myghty.

Dan he sais, neder in strete,
Waitand hors to stang in fete,
To *do* the rider falle bi the way.

[1] Both of these versions are taken from the Life and Works of Knox, edited by David Laing for the Wodrow Society.

[2] Barnes's Dorset Grammar, p. 26.

And in þe temple o Salamon
Þan sal þat traitur sett his tron,
Þat al was feld lang siþen gan,
He sal *do* rais it eft o stan.
Circumcise him þar he sal
And goddes sun him *do* to calle.

Thoru his mighti wille dos þat kyng
Ute of þe erd tre to spring.—*Cursor Mundi.*

Do wait, and lat him nocht awai.—*Dunbar.*

But by the *makaris* of the Middle Period, *do* was used as a simple expletive, and extended by them, not only to the present and past indicative, but to all parts of the verb, as *he dois cum, he hes done cum, he sal do wryte, to do descryve, doand knaw*—

Lat workis beir witnes, quhilkis he hes done compyle—

i.e. *which he has compiled.*

The use of the interrogative *quha*, who, as a simple relative, for which the early writers used *at, that,* and subsequent ones also *quhilk, quhilkis,* began to prevail also about this time. In English, according to Mr. Furnivall (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1865, p. 139-149), "*who* was first used as a relative once in Wyclyffe's Bible, then very frequently by Lord Berners in his "Froissart," and "Arthur of Little Britain," and then but sparingly till Shakspeare's time and after." By Barbour, Wyntown, Douglas, and Dunbar, *quha* is regularly used for the compound *whoever, he who,* or as the antecedent, *quha that* = he that, he who.

Quha that bakis brede aw nocht for to hyde it.—*Leges Burgorum.*

Quha that dois deidis of petie
And levis in pece and cheretie
Is haldin a fule, and that full nyce,
And all for cause of Covêtyce.

Quha na thing hes can na thing get.
Quha best can rewll wald maist have governance.

In luve to keip allegiance
It war als nyce an ordinance
As *quha* wald bid ane deid man dance
In sepulture.—*Dunbar.*

The oblique cases *quhais,* and *quham,* were used as relatives from an early period; but the first instance of the use of the nominative *quha,* as a simple relative, that I have met with, is in "Chrystis Kirk of the Grene"—if indeed it is safe to assume that the *form* of that poem is older than its earliest copy preserved in the Bannatyne MS. of 1568:—

Ane hasty hensure callit Hary,
Quha wes ane archer heynd,
Tilt up a taikle withouten tary,
That torment sa him teynd.

Similar doubt attaches to an instance in Henrysoun's poem of *Orpheus and Eurydice,* l. 548 (Mr. Laing's ed.):—

Schawand to ws, quhat perrell on ilk syd
That thay incur, *quhay* will trest or confyd
In to this warldis vane prosperitie.

Unfortunately, lines 547-50 are among those wanting in the early printed ed. of 1508, as well as in the early Asloane MS., being supplied from the copy in the Bannatyne MS.; so that the date 1568 is again the oldest which we can certainly give to *quhay* in the passage in question. We are on firmer ground with a single example in Lyndesay's "Monarche" (edition of 1552), where *quhilk* is the usual relative:—

And in that samyn land, Iwys,
He tuk to wyfe Semeramis,
Quha, as myne author dois discryve,
Was then the lustiest on lyve.—*E. E. T. S. ed.*, l. 2787.[1]

The later editions of Lyndesay's works regularly insert *quha* instead of the original *quhilk*; thus the passage which stands in the editions of 1538 and 1559 as

Or quho can now the workis cuntrafait
Off Kennedie, with termes aureait?
Or of Dunbar, *quhilk* language had at large
As maye be sene in tyll his goldin targe?
Complaint of the Papyngo, l. 16.

appears in the edition of 1582,

Or quha can now the warkis cunterfait
Of Kennedie with termes aureait?
Or of Dunbar, *quha* language had at large
As may be sene intill his "Goldin Targe."

This alteration of the later editions accounts for the fact that the "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis" (first edition extant, 1602) constantly uses *quha* as the relative.

In the Acts of the Scots Parliament, this use of *quha* seems to commence after 1540, as, "My said lord gouernor & aduocate being als personaly present *quha* ar warnit hereof."—Acta Mariae, 12 Mch. 1542. The "Complaynt of Scotland," 1548, also exhibits this form as well as the older *quhilk*—"Siclyke that maist sapient prince and prelat fadir in gode Ihone of Loran, *quha* is ȝour fadir broder *quhilk* be his prudens hes been mediatour betuix diuers forane princes, to treit pace and concorde in diuerse cuntreis, *quha* hes nocht alanerlie vsit hym lyik ane sperutual pastor, bot as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vailȝeant captan," &c. The same usage is regularly observed by Knox: "he was committit to the secular judge (for our bischoppis folow Pilat, *who* boith did condempne, and also wesche his handis), *who* condempned him to the fyre" (vol. i. p. 6). QUHA continued to be so used, in the written language, during the decaying period of Scottish literature, and although the usage is unknown to the living

[1] The Editor of Lauder's *Office and Dutie of Kyngis*, printed 1556 (E. E. T. S. ed., 1864) also notes a single instance of *quha* as the simple relative instead of *quhilk*, at l. 115 of that work:—
That Kyng that sittis all kyngis abone,
Quha heiris and seis all that is wrocht.

dialects of Scotland, we find it in the poets of the Modern Period, as "Scots *wha* hae wi' Wallace bled!"[1]

Is there for honest povertie
Wha hangs his head an' a' that?

§ 17. It thus appears that long before the accession of James VI. to the English throne, there was a marked assimilation in the literary language of Scotland to that of England. After that event the Scotch ceased to be used in general literature; Scotchmen who had anything to say to their fellow-men found a much wider audience by expressing themselves in the language of England. For local purposes, however, such as the proceedings of Parliament and the law courts, municipal records, and similar documents, the vernacular continued still to be used, although one characteristic of the orthography disappeared after another, until, at the union of the Parliaments, only an occasional word connected with local customs or the technicalities of Scottish law survived to distinguish the language, *to the eye*, from the literary English. The pulpits of the national church and the parish schools seem also to have preserved the Scotch down at least to the time of the Commonwealth. In a copy-book and set of school exercises, written at Selkirk in 1630, which are in my possession,[2] the "settings" or texts are all in the native dialect, into which also the Latin themes are rendered. The former consist of such couplets as these:—

Quhair sair calamitie ouersettis ane gentill hart
Quha beiris it pacientlie, he playis ane proudent pairt.

Na plesour is bot pane, as preuis experiens,
Thairfoir let hoip remane, and tak in pacience.

For eftir snaw and sleit, sall cum the somer flouris,
Thay are nocht worthe the sueit, that may not suffer souris.

Ȝe sie the stormis blast, garris cluddis fall owt in rane,
Bot quhone the schour is past, the sky will cleare agane.

Of the language of the courts of justice, after the Union, the following specimens are taken from the Record of the Jedburgh Circuit Court, under date April, 1623:—

"Johne Halle, callit þe Cheiff, in Newbigging, and Lancie Hall thair, ar accusit for airt and pairt of þe thifteous steilling and resetting of sevin nolt, sax of þem perteining to Isaac Patersoune in Huronnesclois, four of þem ky, ane ox, and ane stott, and ane uther ox perteining to Jon Meitfurd thair, furth of þe lands of

[1] "Scots wha hae" is *fancy* Scotch—that is, it is merely the English "Scots who have," spelled as Scotch. Barbour would have written "Scottis at hes;" Dunbar or Douglas, "Scottis quhilkis hes;" and even Henry Charteris, in the end of the 16th century, "Scottis quha hes." Compare

Luif justice ye quha hes ane Judges cure.
Lyndesay—Satyre, l. 1027 (ed. 1602).

The vernacular is still "Scots at hæs," which Burns apparently considered ungrammatical, and therefore shaped the words after an English model. Much of the contemporary Scotch is of this character; it is Scotch in spelling, English in everything else.

[2] See notice in "Leisure Hour" of Jan., 1870.

Huronnesclois, about þe first Ladie-day last. Clenges thame of þe thift, but fyllis thame upone þe ressett of þe said nolt, and being airt and pairt with John Hall of Heviesyde, being ane outlaw and fugitive in selling of thame.

"Item quhair Johne Irwine, callit lang Laird Hoddame, his brother and his spouse ar accusit for airt and pairt of þe thifteous, steilling, resett and away takin of sevin gaitt furth of þe lands of Brochtschall, at several tymes, perteining to Elizabeth Hardie, spous to umquhill David Dalrymple, betwixt Yull and Candlemas last; and for þe cruell burning of ane barne full of corne, beir, quheit, and ry, perteining to W^m^ Bell in Holmheid, upon þe tent day of Februar last by past. Clengit of the haill.

"Williame Scott of Burnefute upon the watter of Aill, actit him as cawtionar, and souertie for Geordie Jonsoune in Eschinsyd, that he sall compeir befoir his Māties saids Commissionaris the nixt Justice Court to be haldin be thame and underly his hienes lawis, under þe pane of fyve hundreth merkis.

"The persounis foirsaid fund guyltie and foull of certain crymis of thift and utheris contenit in þair particular dittayes, wer, be þe saidis Commissioners, decernit and condempnit, thay, and ilkane of þem to be takin to þe place of execution, and there to be hangitt be þe heid, ay quhill thay wer deid, and all thair landis, guds and geir to be escheit and inbrocht to his hienes use, as was pronuncit in judgement be þe mouth of þe said Johne Junkisoune, dempstar of þe said Court."—*Annals of Hawick*, pp. 215-305.

The language of the pulpit in the middle of the 17th century is exemplified by the following extract from a sermon preached by Mr. James Row, sometime minister of Strowan, in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, on the occasion of the signing of the "Solemn League and Covenant," in 1638, which was long famous under the name of the "Pockmanty Preaching":—

"The Kirk of Scotland was a bony trotting Naig, but then she trotted sae hard, that never a man durst ryd her, but the Bishops; wha after they had gotten on her back, corce-langled her, and hopshaikled her, and when shee becam a bony paceing beast, they tooke great pleasure to ryde on her. But their cadgeing her up and downe from Edenbrugh to London, and it may be from Rome to, gave her sik a hett cott, that we have been these twall months by gane stirring her up and downe, to keep her frae foundrying.

"Yea, they made not only ane Horse, but ane Ass, of the Kirk of Scotland. Hou sae? ko ye. What meane ye by this? Ile tell you hou: they made Balaam's Ass of her. Ye ken well eneugh Balaam was ganging ane unluckie gate, and first the Angel mett him in a broad way, and then the Ass bogled and startled, but Balaam gote by the Angel, and till her and battand her sufficiently; that was when Episcopacy came in, and then they gave the Kirk of Scotland her paiks.

"Afterwards Balaam mett the Angel in a narrow gate, and shee startled more than before; but Balaam till her againe, and whaked

her soundly; that was when the Fyve Articles of Perth were brought in.

"The thrid time the Angel mett Balaam in sae strait a gate that the Ass could not win by; and then it pleased the Lord to open blind Balaam's eyes, and that is this happy dayes wark. Now God has opened all our eyes; we were lyk blind Balaam ganging ane unluckie gate, and ryding post to Rome; and what was goten behind him upon the Ass, watt ye? Ile tell you, there was a pockmanty. And what was in it, true ye? but the Book of Cannons and Common Prayer, and the High Commission; but as soon as the Ass sies the Angel, shee falls a flinging and a farting, and oregangs the pockmanty; and it hings by the string on the one syde, and aff gaes blind Balaam, and he hangs by the hough on the other syde, and faine would the cairll [hae] been on the sadle againe, and [h]a[e] been content to leave his pockmanty. But, beloved, lett not the false swinger gett on againe, for if he gett on againe, he will be sure to gett his pockmanty also."

Here, it will be observed, not only is the orthography largely assimilated to the current English, but the words used are a mixture of the literary tongue with the vernacular. The full course of the change during the 17th century may be seen by examining the Acts of the Scots Parliament during that period. As a few data for the dialect of the Southern counties, I give the following from the contemporary records of the Burgh of Hawick:—

"A.D. 1640. Whatsomevir person sall commit blud upon utheris, within the freedom of the brughe, sal pay 5 pundis for the blud, and 5 pundis for the bludwyte, efter tryal taken and convict thereof be the Baylyeas, and aucht days in the stockis.

"1660. The haill counsellers being covened within the Tolbuith, did all with ane voice statute and ordain, that every inhabitant within the brughe sall have libertie to tur and theik, and sett ane ladder in his neighbour's close or yaird where they cannot win to tur and theik (*cover with turf and thatch*) and sett ladders on thair awin ground.

"1686. The q*uhi*lk day, by appointment of the baylyeas W. P. and D. H. being ordanit to search the meall markitt did after exact tryell and search find George Trumbell in Dovshaugh to have seidie and insufficient meale at the markitt the said day, being about ane gouping of seids or thereby sifted out of ane pecke of his fulle sacke, who compeirand came in the baylyea's will for tenn pounds of fyne, and also for the pryse of the haill meall.

"1700. Wee, John Cochrane, ane old lame tall black man, with some grey hairs in his head, lame in both elbows, and having ane cutt in the brow, and James Anderson son to Adam Anderson, scholemaster in the Canongate of Edin^{r}, being about 16 years of age, of ane little stature, wanting ane ey—in respect that they were apprehended on the 25th inst., being the fair day, and imprisoned within the tolbuithe for alleat stealing of severall

goods and oy s, which were wanting in the said fair, and that as the baylyeas has sett us at libertie out of the samen, therefore witt ye us to have enacted ourselves, that we shall never in tyme coming hereafter, be seen by night or by day w^{t}in the brughe of Hawicke and liberties y^{r}of under the paine of being lyable to all punishments that can be inflicted on us.

"1706. The baylyeas and Towne Counsell did enact that noe burgess or other inhabitant should, in noe tyme coming heirafter, att or before the fairs to be holden w^{t}in the said brugh, merke or sett down meiths for merchands, packmen, or pedders that lives out of the liberties of the town, until they come themselfs and take up y^{r} stands the day before the fair, under a penaltie of tenn pound Scotts and imprysonment dureing the bayleas will and pleasur."

By such a gradual transition going on during the whole of the 17th century, and most active during its latter half, the written language became, by 1707, identical with that of England. Here and there a solitary archaic form survived a few years longer; thus *ane*, the article before a consonant, is found lingering till about 1720; but although in this and other respects the written language might present Scotticisms, it was no longer in any sense Scotch. It is not to be supposed, however, that the spoken language had undergone a similar change, or that the writer of even the last of the above specimens would have *read* it, as it would have been read by a Southern Englishman. The difference between the two pronunciations was nearly as great as that between the English and Scotch pronunciation of Latin; at the present day the reading of English in a country school in Scotland is very different from the reading of English by a Londoner. The sounds are meant to be the same, but a very different conception of their value prevails in the two localities.

§ 18. The Lowland Scotch had now ceased to be used for ordinary literary purposes, but it still remained as the common tongue of the people; and in this third period of its history it experienced a brilliant revival as the vehicle of ballad and lyric poetry. In still more recent times Galt and Scott have led the way in its copious use in prose works illustrative of Scottish life and character—a path in which many successors have followed. These productions of the third period are not, however, of exactly the same value as witnesses to the contemporary spoken tongue of the people. as were the old Scotch laws, the works of Barbour, Henry, or Dunbar. They are more or less *conventional* representations. To a greater or less extent they are almost all contaminated with the influence of the literary English—the language which their authors have been *educated* to write—whose rules of grammatical inflection and construction they impose upon their Scotch, to the corruption of the vernacular idiom. I have already pointed out, p. 71, note—at the risk, perhaps, of being set down as an unpardonable heretic, that "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace

bled," although composed of Scotch words, is not vernacular Scotch, any more than "How you carry you?" as a translation of "Comment vous portez-vous?" is vernacular English. Hundreds of similar examples might be quoted from modern poets. The vernacular introduced by Sir Walter Scott in his novels is much more pure and genuine, though even he has at times been led astray by unconscious deference to English grammar. Thus, opening *The Antiquary* at chap. xxvi., I find Luckie Mucklebackit saying, "Them that *sells* the guids, *guide* the purse; them that *guide* the purse, *rule* the house," where *sells* is grammatical, but *guide* (twice) and *rule* are Anglicisms, and would be *guides*, *rules*, (geidz, rəulz) in the mouth of a native speaker, as well as in the classical writers, when the vernacular was still the national literary tongue. But where Scott and Burns have thus occasionally Anglicised the native idiom, many other writers have done so systematically, apparently looking upon the vernacular usage, where it differs from that of literary English, as "bad grammar," or "ignorant corruption,"[1] and it is hardly too much to adopt the phrase of the author of the Cleveland Glossary, and say that their Scotch is only "ordinary English in masquerade," and of about the same value philologically as the snuff-shop Highlander is in ethnology.

In the matter of *orthography*, also, there exists no recognized standard for the spelling of Modern Scotch, and the literary productions of this period, in consequence, afford no manner of insight into the actual pronunciation—that is, into the living language—which they are supposed to represent. Amid the general orthographic anarchy, two principal fashions may be roughly distinguished as dividing the field. In the commoner of the two, the standard English spelling forms the basis to which the Scotch is conformed wherever possible. Words peculiarly Northern, and wanting in the literary English, form, of course, an exception, as do words of which the Northern form is very different from the Southern, whether as regards the consonantal skeleton, as *streek* for *stretch*, *kirk* for *church*, *skart* for *scratch*, *a'* for *all*, or from the characteristic vowels being very distinct, as *sair* for *sore*, *wad* for *would*, *auld* for *old*, *ee* for *eye*; but in all other cases, where the sounds, though different, are near to each other, no intimation is given of the dialectical difference. The result of this treatment is that, to the eye, a piece of Lowland

[1] "Language is a natural production, living and growing, as much as a tree or flower; and no natural development can be called a corruption. The only corrupters of dialects, that I know of, are the *literary men* who 'improve nature,' by writing them, not as they *are*, but according to their notions of what they *ought to be*—*i.e.*, in accordance with "rules of grammar" derived from other languages with which they may be acquainted. As though grammar were anything but a systematic statement of usage! What would be thought of the botanist who should mutilate his specimens of flowers and plants to improve their symmetry, or make them fit into pre-arranged artificial systems, instead of following nature, and drawing his laws and systems from her!"—*Prince L. L. Bonaparte.*

Scotch, so written, looks like literary English with a good many apostrophes, a small per-centage of words not to be found in the English Dictionary, and about the same number of idiomatic phrases and grammatical constructions not recognized by the literary tongue. To show that this is no fanciful statement, I turn to Burns's Poems, and analyse two or three of the best known and most national of his pieces, with the following results:—*A man's a man for a' that*, contains 115 different words, of which 18 only do not occur as English. *Duncan Gray cam here to woo*, the different words in which number 117, has 30, and *Auld Lang Syne*, out of 80 words, has 24 which an English reader would point out as Scotch. *Scots wha hae*, with 100 words, has only 9 not English. *The Death of Poor Mailie, an Unco Mournfu' Tale*, consisting of 461 words, has 71, or, including repetitions, 98 words not English, several differing only in the use of an apostrophe for an elided letter.[1] And yet if a countryman of the poet were to recite these poems to a Southern audience, it is not too much to say that not more than three words in a hundred would be *heard* as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling. Hence the observation one so frequently hears from Englishmen—"I can understand Burns's poems quite well, when I read them; but I cannot follow you when you read them." They read the words, spelled like their English equivalents, as English; and three-fourths to nine-tenths of the words being thus old friends, the context enables them to guess at the meaning of any new faces. Doubtless, an orthography so largely English renders Burns, or any other Scottish writer, more widely intelligible and enjoyable. A Scotchman disregards the spelling, and reads it in the dialect of his native district (sometimes as distinct from that of Burns as that is from English); an Englishman reads according to his conception of Scotch. The merits of such a spelling for general purposes I do not question, pointing only to the fact that the Scotch so written is not a witness to the actual spoken dialects; it does not represent—as it does not pretend to represent—the amount of difference, but rather to

[1] The following are the words in question:—*A man's a man for that*—a', gowd, hamely, hoddin, gie, sae, o', birkie, ca'd, wha, coof, mak, aboon, guid, maunna, fa', gree, warld.

Duncan Gray—cam, o', fou, Maggie?, coost, fu', asklent, unco, skeigh, gart, abeigh, fleeched, craig, baith, grat, een, bleer't, blin', spak, lowpin, owre, linn?, sair, hizzie, gae, heal (=hale), sic, could-na, smoord, crouse, canty.

Auld Lang Syne—auld, o', lang, syne, tak, twa, hae, braes?, pu'd, gowans, monie, sin', paidl't, i', burn?, frae, mornin', till (=to), braid, fiere, gie, guid-willie, waught, pint-stoup.

Scots wha hae—wha, hae, wi', wham, aften, o', sae, fa', sodger.

Poor Mailie—thegither, ae, cloot, coost, owre, warsled, cam, doytin', wi', glowering, een, near-hand, waes, na, naething, spak, brak, woefu', muckle, mair, o', ca', woo', kin', guid, gie, frae, tods, fend, themsel, tent, teats, ripps, gaets, wanrestfu, slaps, kail, forbears, mony, bairns, greet, toop, havins, winna, yowes, hame, no (=not), rin, ither, mense-less, neist, yowie, gude, forgather, ony, blastit, moop, mell, thysel, lea'e, blessin', baith, upo', mither, ane, anither, dinna, a', thou-s', blether, amang.

show the maximum of *likeness*, between them and the usual English. To the actual spoken language it bears precisely the relation that is borne to Chaucer's English by a modernized version of his writings, using the present English spelling, except for obsolete words, or where prevented by the rhyme. The other mode of writing Scotch consists in using the spelling of the writers of the 15th and 16th centuries, without regard to the question whether it represents the modern pronunciation, or suits it better than any other. It is seldom used except when accompanying an archaic diction, in that species of writing known as the quasi-antique, as in some of the poems of the Ettrick Shepherd; and in the absence of any correct notions of philology, owing to which the language and orthography of far distant periods have been jumbled together, and a very clumsy imitation has passed muster as "old Scots," it has been employed to obtain celebrity for modern ballads by passing them off as ancient compositions—a species of literary fraud of which the modern period of Scottish literature presents abundant instances.

§ 19. While neither of these modes of spelling shews the great difference between the Northern and Southern utterance, they also fail in shewing the dialectical differences of pronunciation which are now found in Scotland. It is customary to speak of Scotch as one dialect (or language), whereas there are in Scotland several distinct types, and numerous varieties of the Northern tongue, differing from each other markedly in pronunciation, and to some extent also in the vocabulary and grammar. The dialects of adjacent districts pass into each other with more or less of gradation, but those of remote districts (say, for example, Buchan, Teviotdale, and Ayr) are at first almost unintelligible to each other, and, even after practice has made them mutually familiar, the misconception of individual words and phrases leads to ludicrous misunderstandings.[1] Un-

[1] Once, on a pilgrimage to St. Mary's Loch and the Grey Mere's Tail, I put up for the night at the well-known "Jenny o' Birkhill's," on the top of the watershed between the streams which fall into the German Ocean and those that reach the Irish Sea. Some "Wast-Cuintrie folk" were staying in the house at the same time, and in the morning I was awakened by the shrill voice of a girl shouting behind my door, "Mither! mither!—the wain's walkin'!" My instinctive impulse was to understand *wain* as *waggon*, and the sentence as, "Mother!—the waggon's walking, or moving off!" when the voice of a child in an adjoining room reminded me of *wean*—a word not in ordinary use in our dialect, but familiar enough in the writings of Burns, where, however, I did not read *wain* but *ween*, or *weeän*. The sentence now became, "Mother!—baby's walking!" Quite accidentally, I afterwards found out that what I had heard as *walkin'* was *wauken*—awake—and that the information conveyed was neither "the waggon is walking," nor "baby is taking its first toddle"; but "Mother!—baby is awake!" or, as it would have been in Teviotdale, "Muther!—the bairn's weäken!" I smiled to think how I had been as completely tripped up by a simple sentence in a Scottish dialect, separated from my own only by a ridge of hills, as if it had been French or German.—I have since found that a mistake, the converse of mine, was made, under less extenuating circumstances, by Pinker-

doubtedly the interval of a hundred and fifty or two hundred years that has elapsed since Scotch was a literary language, used in the church and taught in the schools, is accountable, in some degree, for this dialectical diversity; but this could at most exaggerate existing differences, by giving full play to tendencies which already existed, and whose causes must be sought in earlier times and more remote conditions of things.

In examining the actual state of the Lowland Scottish dialects—which even at the present day barely extend over one half of the area of Scotland, the Gaelic, so far as actual acreage goes, still being spoken over the larger half[1]—I have been led to arrange them in three groups—a *North-Eastern*, a *Central*, and a *Southern*—which may be further subdivided into eight minor divisions, or sub-dialects. Of these, the North-Eastern group, embracing the dialects north of the Tay, seems to fall into three sub-dialects—those of Caithness, of Moray and Aberdeen, or the country between the Grampians and Moray Firth, and of Angus, or the district between the Grampians and the Tay. In the Central group are the sub-dialects of Lothian and Fife, of Clydesdale, of Galloway and Carrick, and of the Highland Border, extending from Stirling and the Forth, between the Ochil, Lomond, and Sidlaw Hills, on the one side, and the Gaelic frontier on the other, across the Tay, toward the Braes of Angus. The Southern group is represented only by the dialect of the Border Counties, extending from the Tweed to the Solway, and from the Cheviots to the Locher Moss, or, as the "South" country is described by Lyndesay ("Dreme," 955)—

"Almoist betuix the Mers and Lowh-mabáne."

These divisions, being founded solely upon internal characteristics of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, have been found, quite unexpectedly, to correspond with great political and ethnical divisions made known to us by history. Thus we see in the dialect of the Southern Counties (including Annandale, Eskdale, Teviotdale, and Ettrick Forest) a direct descendant of the

ton, in his "Scottish Ballads" of 1783. Among the poems given in that collection is "Christis Kirk of the Grene," in which are the lines—

"Sum strak with stings, sum gatherit stainis,
Sum fled and ill mischevit;
The menstral wan within twa *wainis*,
That day full weil he previt,
For he cam hame with unbirst bainis,
Quhair fechtaris wer mischievit."

Wain is glossed by Pinkerton as "a child"; so that the minstrel found his safety from the *stainis* and *straiks*, not in crouching between two waggons, but between two children!—A South Country friend, whose parents were natives of Central Scotland, where *ea* is still pronounced as *ai*, as in Shakspeare's English, and the words *pear*, *bear*, *tear*, *wear*, relates how he used, when a boy, to be puzzled with the expression, "We *played*—we *played* with Thee," regularly used by his father in conducting family devotions. Why there should be so much said about *playing* in the family prayers was a mystery which was only cleared up on revisiting the paternal home in latter years, when the expression was found to be, "We *plead* with Thee."

[1] For a complete account of the present area of the Gaelic, as well as of the dialectical divisions of the Lowland tongue, see the Appendix.

old Northumbrian, whose annals have already been given. The dialect of Lothian and the Forth Valley is the same language as spoken on the Celtic frontier, and as subsequently cultivated at the Court of Holyrood, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, and Stirling, and used in those burghs which crowded both sides of the Forth, and formed the seat of the national life of the Scotland of the Stuarts. In the dialect of Clydesdale we have the same tongue, as diffused some centuries later, among a people whose original language had been British or Welsh, and who continued to be known as Walenses or Bretts, long after Lothian was recognized as a province of Saxonia or Engla-land. The dialect of Galloway and Carrick represents an extension of the Teutonic speech over an area occupied by the Ersch so late as the 16th century, and still presenting abundant examples of a Scoto-Irish nomenclature. The Teutonic tongue of Central Scotland is also a very recent intruder upon the adjacent Celtic of the Highlands, which, as will be seen in the sequel, is still retiring parish after parish before it. The dialects of the North-East are interesting as occupying an originally Pictish area, to which it is reasonable to attribute some of their well-marked peculiarities, among the most prominent of which are the pronunciation of *wh* as *f*, and of *w*, in some positions, as *v*, as, *faa fuppit the feyte fulpie* (who whipped the white whelpie), *the vratch vras'lt wi' the vrycht tyll hys wryst gat a vrang vranch* (the wretch wrestled with the wright till his wrist got a wrong wrench). The peculiarly thin and narrow vocalization of the language north of the Grampians—so different from the broad and heavy vowels of central Scotland—may be connected with the fact that a large number of the early Teutonic settlers here consisted of Flemings, introduced by David I.[1] The Teutonic

[1] Dr. Leyden (Compl. of Scotland, Edin., 1801, p. 347) attributes the peculiarities of the North-eastern dialect to a more recent connection with the opposite coast of the continent. "Along the east coast of Scotland the fishermen are chiefly of Flemish and Danish origin, and retain many words of their respective languages. They seem to have settled in small colonies, at that later period of Scotish history when the Scotish nation was in habits of friendly intercourse with Denmark and the Low Countries. The broad Buchan dialect, as it is termed, is of this origin instead of Pictish extraction, and is spoken in its utmost purity by the fishermen of Fife and Angus, but particularly at Buckhaven on the Forth, and Davoch on the Cromarty Firth, where they seldom intermarry with their neighbours." The same view he afterwards maintained, in replying to the strictures of Pinkerton: — "Strange as the opinion may be, there is no difficulty of establishing it, both by an appeal to historical documents, and by the traditions of the people. But this question is connected with the origination and distinctions of the different Scotish dialects—subjects which I intended to have discussed in an additional dissertation. An attentive examination of the subject for that purpose convinced me that there is no foundation whatever for supposing the Scotish language to be a dialect of the Icelandic or Scano-Gothic, but that, on the contrary, whether we regard the derivation or the flection of words, it is more closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon as a mother tongue than is the English itself. The English contains more Danish or Icelandic words than the Scotish. . . . The Border and Western dialects of the Scotish are almost purely [Anglo] Saxon in their peculiar

dialect of Caithness, an isolated member of the North-Eastern group, occupies a little corner of an area that was conquered and colonised by the Northmen in the tenth century, the inhabitants of which are, to some extent, of Scandinavian blood. The Norse possessions extended, at times, far to the South; and Norse topographical names are found along the east coast, beyond the confines of the county which was to the Northmen emphatically the Suther-land, or southern territory, as far as the head of the Beauly Firth. But, as in the Western Isles, where the blood is also partly Norse, the Celtic speedily regained its lost ground in Ross and Sutherland. Hundreds of places with names ending in -wick, -dale, -boll, -kirk, -land, -buster, or -bster, can be pointed out, where Gaelic alone has been spoken for centuries. Even of Caithness itself, fully one half the area is included within the Gaelic line, and as the latter is now again receding before the Lowland tongue, it is maintained by some that the entire county was Celtic in the 15th and 16th centuries. It is certain that the dialect of the portion which is now Teutonic presents few characteristics which can be distinctly set down as Scandinavian, but many which show the influence of the Gaelic. It is essentially that of the North-eastern coast of Aberdeen and Moray, with *f* for *wh*, but having also other characteristics of Celtic origin, such as the substitution of the sound of *sh* for *ch*—shapel, shumlay, shin, sheese, shilder—and the elision of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words—the, they, them, then, there, that, &c.—met with elsewhere in semi-Celtic districts of Scotland and Ireland. (See suprà pp. 26–27.)

§ 20. The following pages are devoted to the consideration of the actual characteristics and historical relations of the dialect of the Southern Counties—of the dales of the Teviot, the Esk, and the Annan, the Ettrick and the Yarrow. The *grammatical* characteristics of this dialect consist in the preservation of inflectional distinctions which existed in the old Northern dialect of Hampole and Barbour, but which are no longer known in other parts of Scotland. In respect to these, the dialect of Lothian, as may be anticipated, approaches it most closely, and has retained more of these peculiarities than the more recently introduced dialects of the North and West. Such is the distinction between *meae* and

vocables. The [North] eastern dialect contains numerous Danish and Flemish words, with a considerable mixture of Celto-Gaelic." It is much to be wished that Dr. Leyden had written the dissertation referred to, which would have done more for Scottish philology than all the vagaries of Pinkerton, Chalmers, and Jamieson. It is doubtful whether as many words of sense were written on the subject during the next half century until the remarks of Cosmo Innes in the Introduction to his edition of the *Bruce*. I rejoice to learn that the Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo, Member of the Philological Society, and author of the valuable "Glossary of the Dialect of Banffshire," published by the Society, 1867, has taken up the question of the origin and history of the North-eastern dialect, and promises to give to the subject an investigation similar to what is here given to that of the Southern Counties.

mair, the former being a plural, the latter a singular, form—*meae bairns, an mair tui gie them* (more children, and more to give them)—corresponding to the old Northern *ma, mar*, old Southern, *mo, more;* but both now merged in the English *more*, and also confused in other parts of Scotland as *mair*. The distinction is also observed in the most northern counties of England, but I do not find it mentioned in the Cleveland Glossary. A similar distinction is made in the two forms *aneuwch* and *aneuw*, as in *aneuwch o' waitter, aneuw o' steanes* (enough of water, enough of stones), for which the old Southern writers had *ynogh, ynow*. In the dialect of Burns both of these forms, which the old Scottish writers distinguished, are confounded as een-yuch (*palæotype*,[1] inɹəkh). The Northern plural demonstratives *thyr* and *theae*, answering to the Southern *these, those*, older *tho*, are unknown in the dialects beyond the Grampians, where we hear *thys byooks, that scheen*, for *thyr buiks, theae schuin* (these books, those shoes), apparently after the Gaelic usage, in which *sin, so*, are both singular and plural—*an leabhar so, na leabhraichean so* (this book, these books); *a' bhròg sin, na brògan sin* (that shoe, those shoes). A still more important distinction is that between the gerund, or noun of action, and the participle, distinguished by the old writers as *synging, syngand*, and still carefully separated in pronunciation, as, *the bairn was hyngand be the hyngings* (dhə bern wɐs heqɐn bi dhə heqinz), or

> I've heard o' a liltin' at our yowes milkin'
> The lasses a' liltan' afore the break o' day.
>
> (*aa*·v hærd o ə leltin ɐt uur ɹouz melkin
> dhə lasiz *aa* leltɐn əfuu'r dhə brek ə dee.)

In the literary English the form in *-ing* had begun to be confounded with that in *-end* or *-inde* as early as the 14th century, and the latter is now quite lost. The other Scottish dialects have also confounded the two forms since the 16th century, *reid'n* being equivalent both to *reidand* and *reiding*. The distinction seems now to be confined to the South of Scotland and most Northern counties of England—the ancient kingdom of Bernicia.

Other points of the same kind will be noted in dealing with the grammar. As regards the pronunciation, the most striking peculiarity of this dialect consists in its using (like the Northern English counties) the diphthongs, *ey, uw*, (*Pal.* ei, ɐu), for the simple vowels *ee, oo*—that is, where a native of the centre, west, or north-east of Scotland says *he, me, see, free, lee, dee*, a Borderer says, *hey, mey, sey, frey, ley, dey*, which may be compared with the Dutch *hij, mij, zij, vrij*, &c. Similarly, for the final *oo* of the others, this dialect uses the diphthong *uw—yuw, cuw, duw, fuw*

[1] A key to the *Palæotype* equivalents, added within parentheses to shew the pronunciation, will be found in the section of this work dealing with Pronunciation.

puw, for *you, coo, doo, fu', pu'*. Both peculiarities are expressed in the well-known test-sentence, pronounced in Lothian as

Yoo an' mee 'll gyang uwr the duyke an' poo a pee,

which in this dialect is

Yuw an' mey 'll gang owre the deyke an' puw a pey—

i.e., You and I will go over the wall and pull a pea. Connected with this is the further fact that where the sounds *ey* and *uw* occur in other dialects, this dialect advances a step, and uses *aiy, òw;* thus *hay, may, clay, ewe, hollow, bowl,* which in Edinburgh are *hey, mey, cley, yuw, huw, buwl,* are here, *haiy, maiy, claiy, yowe, howe, bòwle,* to distinguish them from *hey, mey, yuw, huw,* meaning *he, me, you, how.* In illustration of this peculiarity, Mr. Ellis (E. E. P., p. 307, note) tells of a school-inspector who, wishing to get the sound of *do* out of a Hawick girl, without himself pronouncing it, and unaware of the local pronunciation, asked her what she called a *pigeon.* "A *duw*," replied she, completely posing her questioner, who had expected the Central Scottish *doo.* This *uw* comes near to the English *ow* in *how, now,* its first element being the Scotch *u* in *hut, dull;* the *ey* also approaches the English *ī, y,* in *my, die,* its first element being the vowel in *yet, bless.* This dialect also distinguishes in pronunciation between the pairs, *pail, pale; laid, lade; main, mane; maid, made; sail, sale; beet, beat; feet, feat; heel, heal; peel, peal,* &c., which were still distinct in the English of the 17th century, but are identified in sound in the modern literary tongue, as well as in the Central Scottish dialects, in which, as early as 1500, the two forms *tha* and *thai* (theae, thay) had begun to be confounded. The diphthong *oy,* which in the centre of Scotland has sunk into *ey* or *uy,* as in the English of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the American "to strike *yle*," retains its full round pronunciation in the Southern counties. Another peculiarity consists in the pronunciation of the guttural *ch,* which, instead of being simple, as in the German *lachen,* or the Gaelic *mach, nochd, clachan,* becomes labialized or palatalized in accordance with the character of the preceding vowel, producing peculiar combinations; the labialized form at least is very unusual, and presents considerable difficulty to the articulative organs of those unaccustomed to it. The name *Reuwch-heuwch-hauwch,* (in palæotype, rəkwh-нəkwh-haakwh), which comes very natural to a Teviotdale mouth, is a "jaw-breaker" for an Englishman or a Northern Scot.

When viewed in relation to the regular course of phonetic development, these modified gutturals, as well as the use of *ey, uw,* for *ee, oo,* indicate a maturer or more advanced stage of pronunciation than the simple sounds which they replace; a still further development being indicated by the vocalization of the guttural or its change into *f,* as in the English *eight, plough, enough.* Their evidence thus agrees with the historical fact that the Lowland tongue has been longer established in the country

south of the Forth than elsewhere in the north-east and west of Scotland. It is a curious though well-substantiated philological law, that the transplantation of a language into a new region gives a check to its growth, and interrupts for a time its normal rate of development; so that while the same dialect in its original home continues to grow and change, in its new position it remains for a longer or shorter period stationary at the stage at which it was transplanted. The case is somewhat similar to that of the transplantation of a tree, which takes some time to root itself in the soil, and accommodate itself to its new position and new circumstances, during which time there is no growth, and the plant consequently falls much behind its congeners left in their native soil. In truth, there are two tendencies observable in the case of a transplanted language. One is that produced by contact with the language which it supersedes, and which always gives something of itself to the new comer; the other is the conservative tendency, produced by reaction against the contact, which strives to fix and crystallize, as it were, the new tongue in its actual state. The effect of both these influences is well seen in the English of Ireland, which has borrowed much of its vocal modulation and other characteristics from the native Irish which it has supplanted, but the main characters of which, when compared with the English of England, are, that it is the English of the 17th century. As Mr. Ellis has pointed out, *whayte*, *taye*, and *gon* or *gŏn* —*oo* in b*oo*k—(wheat, tea, gun), are not properly *Irish;* they are 17th century English—the English of the Tudor and Cromwellian settlers. The notable instance of the ancient form of English preserved in Forth and Bargy has already been considered (suprà page 27). So also, according to the author of the *Biglow Papers*, "the New Englander is nearer by a century, not only in habits and modes of thought, but in language, to the Englishman of the Commonwealth, than John Bull himself is. A person familiar with the dialect of certain portions of Massachusetts will not fail to recognize, in ordinary discourse, many words now noted in English vocabularies as archaic, the greater part of which were in common use about the time of the King James translation of the Bible. Shakspeare stands less in need of a glossary, to most New Englanders, than to many a native of the old country."

Now, the dialect of the Southern counties of Scotland is, as we have seen, distinguished by its proneness to develop diphthongs out of vowels which were originally simple in Anglo-Saxon, and which remain simple in other Scottish dialects; while, on the other hand, it retains a series of grammatical distinctions characteristic of the old North Angle speech, which the others have dropped, probably in imitation of the Ersch, Pictish, or British idioms which preceded them. These facts indicate that the Teutonic speech has in this district come less into peaceful contact with pre-existent languages, and thus yielded less to their influence, than the same dialect further west and north, and that,

having been longer established on the soil, it has, in its system of sounds, received a fuller phonetic development here than elsewhere. The transition is very marked in passing from Annandale into Nithsdale, in Dumfriesshire, the *yuw* and *mey*, *tweae*, *threy*, and *fower* of Annandale changing into the *yoo*, *mee*, *twaa*, *three*, and *fuwr* of Galloway. We have already seen (suprà page 17) how the topographical nomenclature undergoes a similar abrupt change, as do, indeed, the personal surnames, the Galloway *Macs* —like Mac William, Mac Robert, Mac Nichol, Mac Walter, Mac Adam, Mac George, Mac Quhae, Mac Candlish—being alike distinct from the Wilsons, Robsons, Nicksons, Watsons, Johnstons, and Richardsons of the Borders, and the Highland *Macs*— as Macdonald, Mackay, Maclean, Macgregor – of the North-west, and reminding us rather of the Ap Roberts, Ap Jones, Ap Williams, Ap Adams, Ap Rhys, Ap Richards, of Wales; and we know that the Ersch was spoken in Galloway down to a very recent period. The dialectical frontier is much less sharply marked in passing from Roxburghshire into Lothian—a fact to be accounted for by the consideration that the dialect of Lothian and Fife became that of the Scottish Court and seats of learning, and had, during the reign of the Stuarts, an artificial culture and consequent ascendency over the other dialects, invading, displacing, and overlapping them. There is no doubt that the Southern Counties' dialect originally extended over the whole of the lower basin of the Tweed south of the Lammer Moors and Muir-foot Hills; but its most salient characteristics, especially the diphthongal pronunciation, are now almost confined to Teviotdale, the vales of the Ettrick and Yarrow, Upper Eskdale and Annandale; and the Lothian pronunciation extends to Tweedside, in the towns at least; so that *yuw* and *mey* are not now heard in Galashiels, Melrose, or Kelso, and, even in Jedburgh and Hawick, they are fast disappearing before railways, telegraphs, and metropolitan fashions. A correspondent who knows the Border dialect well,[1] in writing to me on this subject, says:—"The diphthongal utterance of *yuw* and *mey* is of course Teviotdale, Oxnam, Jed Valley, Bowmount. It is *old* Jedburgh, but I find it is being pressed upon by the more pretentious pronunciation. I find I speak broader than my own bairns, who ask me why I pronounce words as I do." Another observer[2] writes, as to the limits of this dialect on the north-east:—"I think Hawick and Jedburgh are the real centres of the pronunciation of *ee* and *oo* referred to. Lauderdale (in Berwickshire) is completely Lothian in pronunciation; Melrose is largely so. Jedburgh is thoroughly Teviotdale, but Kelso tends more towards the Lauderdale and Merse type of the Lothian. The change from Jedburgh to Kelso is of course very gradual; Jedburgh gives the rule for the parishes of Southdean, Edgarston, Oxnam, Hownam, and, to a great extent, Morebattle

[1] Mr. John Hilson, sen., Jedburgh.
[2] Mr. James Tait, Editor of the *Kelso Chronicle*.

and Yetholm, till it gets a tinge of the Northumberland *burr*. It is remarkable, however, how well defined are the limits of the *burr*, much more so than of any other dialectic form." In the central valley of Berwickshire—the *Howe* of the Merse—*ch* is curiously pronounced as *sh*, as we have also found it in Caithness, reminding us of the Cambridge MS. of Chaucer (Gg. 4, 27),[1] with its *schyn, schaunce, schaunged, schastite, schosyn, schurch*, and the West Midland *Anturs of Arthur* (Camden Soc., 1842), with its *schayer*, chair, *schapelle*, chapel, *schimnay*, "the *schaft* and the *shol, shaturt* to the *shin*," the chaft (or jaw) and the jowl chattered to the chin. This dialectical peculiarity, moreover, furnishes a living analogue to the change of the French *ch* from its mediæval sound of *tch* to the modern *sh*. Thus the Latin *caballus, canto, causa, campus*, became first palatalized into *kyaval, kyante, kyose, kyamp*, then, as in English, softened into *cheval, chante, chose, champ* (the old Norman pronunciation), and finally, in modern times, weakened into *sheval, shante, shose, shamp*. Compare *kirk, kyirky', cherch, shursh*.[2] The correspondent last quoted thus refers to this peculiarity :—"The *sheese* pronunciation seems to be strictly confined to Chirnside and its neighbourhood; and you have doubtless heard the phrase, '*There's as guid sheese i' Shirset as was ever showwed wi' shafts*'—*i.e.*, 'There's as good cheese in Chirnside as was ever chewed with chafts (jaw-blades)."[3] With regard to the north-western frontier of the Southern Counties' dialect, I have been favoured with some notes by Mr. George Lewis, in which he says :—"When I came to Selkirk, twenty-five years ago, the pronunciation of *me, you, see, tea*, and all that class of words was, *mey, yuw, sey, tey*, almost universally among the natives; but now, from the influx of strangers, the bringing of people more into intercourse with each other, and such like causes, the pronunciation has been greatly modified, as in Galashiels and Melrose, to which you refer. I should say the railway has had a good deal to do in effecting this change. As to the vales of Ettrick and Yarrow, the old dialect remains in them pretty much the same as it was, although doubtless somewhat modified in consequence of the change that has taken place among the Selkirk folks—the process being, however, as may be supposed, very much slower. These vales, as well as the other country districts of Selkirkshire,

[1] Mr. Furnivall's Temporary Preface to the Six-text Edition of the Canterbury Tales, p. 57.

[2] A story is told of a country school in the district where the peculiarity was so disagreeably apparent in the English reading, that the Presbyterial Committee, at the close of their annual "examination," felt it their duty mildly to call the teacher's attention to the point. The latter replied, with considerable agitation, that no one could be more sensible of the fault than he was himself; that his efforts were constantly directed to its eradication; and that, if still heard, he could assure the Committee that it was not for want of continual *shecking* on his part!

[3] I happened to quote this phrase to an eminent Scottish scholar, asking him if he understood it. He "supposed" it meant, "There's as good *shoes* in Shirset as were ever *shew'd* (sewed) with *shafts*—whatever kind of implements the latter might be"!

must still be included among those using the Teviotdale pronunciation, although, I should say, not quite so emphatically as do the people in and around Hawick."

South of the Tweed and Cheviots, a dialect closely akin to that of Teviotdale and Dumfriesshire extends far into England, over the whole of the ancient kingdom of Bernicia. The diphthongal sound in *mey* and *yuw* is strongly marked in Tynedale. The distinction between such forms as *maid, made,* is made as far south as Yorkshire; the sound in the latter word, which on the Scottish side is *meade,* with a slight glide in the *ea,* becomes, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Cleveland, *meead,* or almost *m'yaid, m'yed, m'yad.* In the Danish parts of the North of England the change of the article into *t'*, as *t'man, t'titter oohp có t'udther* (the earlier up call the other), *I sah t'yare, an' it ran oohp t' ill, doon t' ollo, an' throo t'og-wol* (I saw the hare, and it ran up the hill, down the hollow, and through the hog-hole), introduces an element of diversity; but this is not heard in the non-Danish Northumberland and Northern Cumberland, where the full *the,* or at least *th'*, is used.[1] But the long *a,* which in Scotland is always broad, so as to be heard by Englishmen generally as *aw,* is in the North of England long and slender *ah,* as in p*a*th, *a*sk. Compare the Scotch gaan' (*pal.* g*aa*n, g*aa*hn), almost *gawn,* with the Northumberland *gāhn* (*pal.* gaahn, gææn). The Northumbrian *burr,* or *r grasséyé,* seems to be a compromise between the Northern trilled *r,* used in Scotland, and the smooth *r* of England; the Northumbrian, endeavouring at once to retain the consonantal character of the *r,* and to avoid the tip-tongue-trill, exaggerates the final English *r* in ai*r,* oa*r,* produced by a gentle and almost inappreciable tremor of the tongue, into a rough vibration of the soft palate. The sound is more advanced than the Arabic g*rh*ain, and, in a softer form, is common in French and German. Any one who will pronounce forcibly the Parisian *r* in *Paris,* may produce the Northumberland *burr,* or, as it is called at home, the *crhoup* (k*r*up). As has been hinted above, the Northern limits of the *burr* are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound

[1] The line dividing the *the* dialects on the north from the *t'*, or more Danish dialects on the south, runs from Allonby on the Solway eastward by Aspatria, Brocklebank Fells, Sebergham, and Croglin to Black Law Fells; south by that range to Cross Fell; east by the watershed of the South Tyne and Tees to the county of Durham, and so on by the northern watershed of Weardale, as far as Stanhope, after which it crosses to the south side of the Wear, and apparently loses itself in the mining district between the Wear and Tees, where, on account of the mixed and fluctuating nature of the population, no definite line can now be laid down. But while in *Upper* Weardale, the article is regularly *t'*, as in Central Cumberland and Westmoreland; in and about Wolsingham, Bishop's Auckland, Durham, and Sunderland, it is *the,* as in Northumberland and North Cumberland, or the ancient territory of Bernicia. South of the Tees, "the article *t'* is of continual, almost exclusive, occurrence in Cleveland," as well as in the various other dialects of Yorkshire and North Lancashire, formerly included in Deira or Danish Northumbria.

between it and the Scotch *r*. From Carham eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheres to the Southern in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch *r* has driven the *burr* a few miles back, perhaps because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the *Reed* we suddenly enter the *crhoup* country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (Otohr-bohrn). In Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the *r* is now pronounced as in other parts of England.

The greatest of the phonetic differences between the language north and south of the Cheviots is the suppression by the latter of the guttural sounds—a change of such recent date as to have taken place within living memory. For the record of this interesting fact we are indebted to the venerable Professor Sedgwick, who, in a little work full of affectionate memories of his native North (A Memorial by the Trustees of Cowgill Chapel, with a Preface, and Appendix on the Climate, History, and Dialects of Dent, by Adam Sedgwick, LL.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 1868), printed for private circulation, thus describes this among other changes which have come over the Northern speech during his long lifetime of eighty years:—

"The *suppression of the guttural sounds* is, I think, the greatest of all the modern changes in the spoken language of the Northern Counties. Every syllable which has a vowel or diphthong followed by *gh* was once the symbol of a guttural sound; and I remember the day when all the old men in the Dales sounded such words as *sigh*, *night*, *sight*, &c., with a gentle guttural breathing; and many other words, such as *trough*, *rough*, *tough*, had their utterance each in a grand sonorous guttural. The former of these sounds seemed partly to come from the palate, the latter from the chest. Both were aspirated and articulate, and differed entirely from the natural and simple vocal sounds of the guttural vowels â, ô (aa, AA). All the old people who remember the contested elections of Westmoreland must have heard, in the dales of that county, the deep guttural thunder in which the name *Harry Brougham* was reverberated among the mountains. But we no longer hear the first syllable of *Brougham* sounded from the caverns of the chest—thereby at once reminding us of our grand Northern ancestry, and of an ancient Fortress, of which *Brough* was the written symbol. The sound first fell down to *Bruffham*, but that was too vigorous for the nerves of modern ears; and then fell, lower still, into the monosyllabic *broom*—an implement of servile use. We may polish and soften our language by this smoothing process, yet in so doing we are forgetting the tongue of our fathers, and, like degenerate children, we are cutting ourselves off from true sympathy with our great Northern progenitors, and

depriving our spoken language of a goodly part of its variety of form and grandeur of expression."—pp. 103–4.

Here we have a distinct recognition of the labialized and palatalized gutturals still existing on the Scottish side of the Border, where Brough and Brougham are pronounced *Bruwch* and *Bruwcham*. In Cumberland and Westmoreland, since the suppression of the guttural, *ich* has fallen into *ēē*, *eych* into *ēy*, *auwch* into *aff*, *owch* into *òw*, *uwch* into *ūff* or *ū*, *euwch* into *eü*, giving *leet*, *neet*, *feyte*, *laff*, *buwt*, *Brūff*, *Broohm*, *eneawf*, for *light*, *night*, *fight*, *laugh*, *bought*, *Burgh* or *Brough*, *Brougham*, *enough*. The effect has been to make the close connection between the dialects north and south of the Border line much less apparent than it was two generations ago.[1]

The foregoing view of the history and fortunes of the Northern dialect may be summed up as follows :—

1. The language of the Angles of the Northan-hymbra-land differed *ab initio* from that of the Saxons of the South—the tongue of Ælfred and Ælfric — which, following the fortunes of the monarchs of Wessex, became the standard or "classical" form of the Anglo-Saxon. The Northern dialect had, both in its phonology and grammatical inflections, a closer relationship with the Frisian and Scandinavian branches of the Teutonic family.

2. The original seat of the North Angle dialect was the district between the Tyne and the Forth, of which Bamborough, near the Tweed mouth, was the royal centre; thence it extended southwards and westwards to the Humber and the Irish Sea, and eventually northwards and westwards, over the ancient Pictland beyond the Forth, Strath Clyde, and Galloway.

[1] I have written down the modern South Cumberland and Westmoreland forms of the following words, having originally a guttural sound, from the pronunciation of Mr. John E. Thompson, a native of the neighbourhood of Kirkby-Stephen. Along with them I give the Central Scottish and the Southern Scottish forms, making a series which shews the transition from the pure guttural through the modified varieties to the vocalized and *f* sounds of the North English. For the sake of greater precision, all are given in Palæotype. *Thigh*, *high*, *nigh*, *drigh*(old Eng.), 1. Centr. Sc. (thii, hikh hii, nii, drikh); 2. South. Sc. (thei, hekjh hei, drekjh) ; 3. S. Cumb. and Westm. (thii, hii, nii, drii)—*light*, *night*, *sight*, *right*, *height*, 1. (lekht, nekht, sekht, rekht, hekht ; 2. lekjht, nekjht, sekjht, rekjht, hekjht); 3. (liit, niit, siit, riit, hiit)—*might*, *fight*, *weight*, *weigh*. 1. (mekht, fɛkht, wɛkht, wii) ; 2. (mekjht, fækjht, wækjht, wei) ; 3. (meeit, feeit, weeit, weei)—*eight*, *straight*, *low*. 1. (ɛkht ɛkht *aa*kht, strɛkht str*aa*kht, l*ee*kh l*aa*) ; 2. (ækjht *aa*k*w*ht, strækjht str*aa*k*w*ht, l*ee*k*w*h loo) ; 3. (*ee*it, strek, laa)—*laugh*, *draught*, *taught*. 1. (l*aa*kh, dr*aa*kht, t*aa*kht); 2. (l*aa*k*w*h, dr*aa*k*w*ht, t*aa*k*w*ht); 3. laf, draut, taut) — *daughter*, *bought*, *sought*, *thought*, *wrought*, *nought*, *ought*, *drought*. 1. dakhtər dokhtər, bokht, sokht, thokht, rokht, nokht, okht, druth) ; 2. (daak*w*htər dok*w*htər, bok*w*ht, sok*w*ht, thok*w*ht, w'rok*w*ht, nok*w*ht, sok*w*ht, druth) ; 3. (daut t'r, bɜut, sɜut, thɜut, rɜwt, nɜut, ɜut, drɜut)—*cough*, *trough*, *slough*. 1. (kokh, trokh, slokh) ; 2. kok*w*h, trok*w*h, slok*w*h) ; 3. (kof, trof, slof)—*rough*, *through* (a flat tomb-stone), *Brough*, *Brougham*, *tough*, *enough*. 1. (rɜkh, thrɜkh, brɜkh, brɜkhəm, tjɜkh, inɜkh); 2. (rɜk*w*h, thrɜk*w*h, brɜk*w*h, brɛk*w*həm, tək*w*h, ənək*w*h) ; 3. (ruf, thruf, bruf, tuf, bruu'm bruum, ənizf ənəf) —*plough*, *though*, 1. (plukh pluu pjukh pjuu, thoo) ; 2. (plək*w*h plɜu, thoo) ; 3. (pluu, dhoo).

3. At the political division of the Northan-hymbra-land between England and Scotland, the "Inglis of the Northin lede" was still written as one language from Doncaster to Aberdeen.

4. It is still most typically represented within the ancient limits of Bernicia—the Forth, the Solway, and the Tyne; the language south of the Tyne having been greatly affected by the Norse of the *Denalagu*, and, in later times, by the literary Midland English, while that of the West and North-east of Scotland has been modified by the Gaelic and Cymric dialects which slowly receded before it.

5. Within this restricted area, the Northern English, having become in Lothian the language of the Scottish Court and seats of learning, and received an artificial culture, has changed considerably from the original type as found in the Early Scottish writers; while south of the Scottish Border it has lost the original gutturals, and otherwise yielded to the English of literature, leaving the speech of the intervening district between the Tweed and Cheviots, extending north of the Solway as far west as the vicinity of Ruthwell, as the least changed representative of the ancient tongue of Cædmon, Cuthbert and Beda, and the Northern writers of the 13th and 14th centuries.

To the speech of this district, as already stated, the following phonetic and grammatical observations specially apply. It is, as spoken in Upper Teviotdale, my native dialect, of which, therefore, I can speak with perfect confidence, and as to which I am a competent witness. I have endeavoured to shew, as fully as possible, its direct relationship to the *literary* Northern dialect of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, the grammatical forms and phraseology of which it preserves to a great extent unaltered, and upon which, I think, it is fitted to throw great light, and correct many misconceptions inseparable from the estimation of a language or dialect by its literary remains alone. At the same time the attempt is made to indicate wherein it agrees with or differs from the other Scottish and North English dialects, wherein its forms and usages may be taken as typical, and wherein they are exceptional. Of this, of course, I cannot be a witness to the same extent; and I cannot hope to escape what scarcely any writer upon local dialects, so far as I have seen, has yet escaped—the twin faults of assuming as local or peculiar what is really general or widespread, and of accepting as generally known, and therefore passing by, that which is really peculiar, though familiar to himself. The Anglo-Saxon dialects of England and Scotland individually must be studied and described much more minutely than has yet been done before their Comparative Philology, and the historical relations which it illustrates, can be satisfactorily discussed. I earnestly desire to see a native student in each dialectical district of Scotland subject the popular tongue of his locality to such an investigation as I have attempted to give

to that of the Southern Counties. The possession of so valuable an instrument for registering the varieties of pronunciation as the *Visible Speech* of Mr. A. Melville Bell, to which Mr. Ellis has adapted his *Palæotype* and *Glossotype*,[1] so that the ordinary Roman alphabet can be used to express all the Visible Speech symbols (without, of course, indicating their organic formation or relations to each other, as is pictorially done by Mr. Melville Bell's great invention), ought to render the treatment of this department of dialectical study as precise and intelligible as it has hitherto been vague and unsatisfactory. It is a matter of deep regret that nine-tenths of what has been written in or on the dialects is, for philological purposes, positively useless, from the want of any clear explanation—often of any explanation whatever—of the values which the writers have attached to the combinations of letters employed by them. Only those who have gone into the subject, and endeavoured to learn something as to the living words thus symbolized by dead letters, can have any idea of the sort of infatuation which possesses writers, that because certain letters seem to them the fittest spelling of a particular sound, the same sound will, without any explanation, be suggested to their readers by those letters. It cannot too often or too loudly be repeated that words are combinations of *sounds*, not strings of *letters*, and that to attempt to describe an unknown language or an unknown dialect by spelling its words in such and such a manner, without rigidly defining the values attached to the letters, is as futile as it would be to represent to us a landscape with its various parts not only uncoloured, but labelled with the names of their diverse hues and shades in an unknown tongue. With a conviction of the importance of a full description of the pronunciation, I have gone into that part of the work at length, explaining every sound, and elementary combination of sounds, by a reference to the Visible Speech Alphabet, which, being a *natural standard*, the points of which are fixed like the freezing and boiling points of the thermometer, or the length of a pendulum beating seconds at sea-level, and can at any time be verified by actual experiment, is thus fitted to convey across any distance or lapse of time the precise quality of every phonetic element. Mr. Ellis's inquiry into the history of Early English Pronunciation shows how much the restoration of past stages of the language is aided by what has been already done for the phonology of the existing dialects;—how much greater would the aid have been if all the varieties of pronunciation in use were faithfully noted! It would be of special service to northern philology to have an edition of Jamieson's Dictionary with the pronunciation marked; or, rather, what is wanted is a Dictionary founded upon Jamieson's,

[1] The *Palæotype* is founded upon the original values of the Roman letters, and is thus a historical system; the *Glossotype* is founded upon modern literary English analogies, and is especially intended for writing the English dialects so as to show their relations to the standard idiom.

but embracing the Northern dialect as a whole, and not merely that fragment of it used in Scotland, concerning the character and relations of which Jamieson did so much to create a false notion, by calling it the "Scottish *Language*." Such a Dictionary ought to be more than a mere register of *spellings*, which give often most imperfect ideas of the actual *words*; it ought to give, after the various historical modes of writing, the actual pronunciation of each word in the various dialects. Thus the interrogative pronoun would appear under the historical forms, *hwa, hua, qua, quha, qwha, quhay, wha, whay, whae,* with the modern dialectical forms—Caithness *fhaa,* North-eastern *faa, fae,* Clydesdale *whaa, whau,* Lothian *whaa, whae,* Teviotdale *wheae, quheae,* Cumb. and Westm. *wheea,* Lonsdale *whāā,* Shields *whee* or *wee,* other dialects of North of England *wheya, weya,* &c. This result might be attained by a local worker in each dialectical district taking a copy of Jamieson and marking all the words which are in use in his dialect, adding any that are wanting, and noting, in the margin, the local pronunciation in palæotype, or any other systematic orthography which could be referred to a natural standard. By this means we should obtain a Dictionary of the Northern speech worthy of the name. The dialectical specimens appended to the present work, which have been written down from the dictation of natives of different districts, are given as suggestions of what might be done in this direction, as well as illustrations of the division of the Scottish dialects proposed above (p. 78).

NOTE.—In the extracts from the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, given at page 39, I failed to remark that these do not exist in contemporary documents, but in transcripts made from the originals at a later period, a fact which accounts for the appearance in these extracts of some Middle-Scottish forms, as *speidfull, gait, meir, peiss, aitis, haif.* Contemporary fragments do exist of date 1389 and 1398, of which, as the oldest known documents in the vernacular, handing down to us the language as actually written in the days of Barbour, a specimen may be here added:—

Liber de Melros, No. 480, A.D. 1389.—Robert Erle of ffyf & of Menteth, Wardane & Chambirlayn of Scotland to þe Custumers of þe Grete Custume of þe Burows of Edynburgh, hadyntoun, and Dunbarre, greting: ffor-qwhy þat of gude memore Dauid kyng qwhilom of Scotland, þat god assoillie, with his chartir vndre his grete sele has gyvin to þe Religiouss men þe Abbot & þe Conuent of Meuros, & to þair successours for euer mare, frely, all þe Custume of all þair wollys, als wele of þair awin growing as of þair tendys of þair kyrkes, as it apperis be þe forsaid Chartir confermyt be our mast souereigne and doubtit Lorde and fadre, our lorde þe kyng of Scotland Robert þat now ys, wyth his grete Sele: To yow ioyntly and seuerailly be þe tenour of þis lettre fermely. We bid & commandes, þat þe forsaid wollys at your Portis—þir lettres sene, þe qwilk lettres yhe delyuer to þaim again—yhe suffre to be shippit, & frely to passe with outyn ony askyng or takyng of Custume, or ony obstacle or lettyng in ony point, eftir as þe tenour of þe forsaides chartir and confirmacioun plenely askis and purportis. In wytnesse here of, to þis lettre, We haue put our Sele at Edynburgh þe xxvj day of Maij, þe yhere of god Mill.ccc iiij^{xx} and nyne.

Act of Robert III., 27 January, 1398.—It is ordanyt þat þar be raysit a general contribucion of ij^{m} pound of þe monay now rynnande (*i.e.* current), for commoun nedis of þe kynrike & þe commoun profyte. þat is to say. þe message & þe treteis to be send in france & in Ingland, as is befor sayde, To þe qwhilkis to be sped, þe

clergie at þis tyme has grauntit, as it may cum to þair parte, with protestacions vnderwrytin, þat is to say, þat it ryn nocht to þe clergy in preiudice in tyme to cum, na hurtyng of fredome of haly-kirk, and it be raysit be ministeris of haly-kirke, sua þat þe kyngis officeris na na seculeris entirmit þaim in þe raysing of it. And at þe said contribucyon be raysit of all gudis, catale, & landys, alswele demayn as oþer landis. Owtane qwhite schepe, Rydin hors, & drawyn oxin. Alsua þe burges sal pay to þat ilke contribucyon of þair gudis—alswele beyhond þe see as on þis side—& of all other gudis, þe saidis burges makand protestacyon þat þai be kepit in þair fredomes, & at þai pay nocht for custume of wol, hydis, na skynnis, atour þe som þat þai war wont to pay in þe tyme of gude memore kyng Robert þat last deit, And at þai be fre fra all maner of imposicyon set apon þe saummondis. With þere protestacions, at þe lach (*i.e.* law) be haldyn þaim as is before said, þe thre communite; has grauntit contribucion, & for to resaue þe taxt of þe forsaid contribucion, þare sal be at perth þe thursday next efter paske thre deputis of ilkane of þe thre estatis, for to set apon þe taxt þe yhelde þat salbe raysit.

Item, it is ordanyt þat þe statute made at Perth in Auril þat last wes, touchande þe paying of custume of Inglis clath brocht in þe lande, & Scottis clath, salt, flesche, gresche, buter, hors, & nowte, had out of þe land, sal be payit as it wes ordanyt in þe forsaid counsail.

To these specimens must now be added a third, a few years earlier (1385), being the record of an Award made by Andrew Mercer, Lord of Mekylhour, in a dispute as to the ownership of certain lands, between Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife (afterwards Regent Albany), and Sir John of Logy. The original is in the Charter chest of the Stewarts of Grandtully, and has been reproduced in facsimile in a volume privately printed by the late Sir William Stewart under the title of "The Red-book of Grandtully." As the earliest specimen of the language of Scotland before 1400 yet known, and as supplying several interesting old forms, the document is philologically of great value, and is here given entire from a photo-lithograph, very courteously sent to me by William T. Mercer, Esq., of Shinfield Grove, near Reading, a lineal descendant of the giver of the award.

(In the MS. the final *g* and *r* have often a tag or twirl, which I, somewhat hesitatingly, expand as final *e;* etymologically it would be, in most cases, better absent. The word *Ion* is sometimes written with a line over the *on* (here represented by Iōn), I suppose, either for Ione or Iħon.)

"Tyl al þat þire lettrys herys or seys Androw mercer lorde of Mekylhoure gretyng in god ay lestand tyl yhure vniuersite be wyttyn þat my redoutyt lorde syr Robart stewart Eryl of ffyfe and Menteth and Ion of Logy squyere þe sune and þe ayre of syr Ion of Logy knycht of þaire fre wyl nane beand present bot we thre before nemnyt put in myne ordenans al þe debate and þe questyoun þat wes be twene þaim for þe landys of logy and of Stragartnay and how evyr þat I ordaynyt and determynyt þaim to do þe forsayde syr Robart and Ion faythfully heht strekand þaire handys in myne bodely makand gude fayth þat þai sulde halde sekre ferme and stabyl and þis ilke forsayde Cunand made apon þis cause before wrytyn þe forsayde syr Robart and Iōn reuuleyt and afermyt in þe presens of myne excellent prynce Robart thrw þe grace of god kynge of Scotland and his Eldeste sune Ion Eryl of Carryke / Maystir Dunckane petyte Ersdene of Murrefe and thome of Rate and In þe tyme þat I þe forsayde Androw assentyt to resayve þis cause before wrytyn in myne ordenans and þare of to gyf Iugement be þe recorde of my twnge I made bodely fayth it ryhtwysly to deme / and I þe forsayde Androw Iuge be twene þe forsayde syr Robart and Ion of þaire fre assent as is before wrytyn I avysyt and vmbethoht hafand ee to mesure and rychtwysenes consyderand to lete mykyl yl scath and grete sclaundyr yharnand þaire endeful and tendyr frenschepe forsuth determynyt þaim fully tyl acorde eftyr þe tenure of certane endentarys and obligacouns þe qwylk I ordaynyt þaim to Cele and þare atowre for syndry dowtis I ordaynyt þe forsayde syr Robart frely to delyvyr and þan presently vp to gyf to þe forsayde Ion al þe landys of logy and of stragartnay before wrytyn and throw vertu of bodely fayth at þe forsayde syr Robart and Ion wes oblyste lelly to fulfyl and trewly to halde my determinacyoun and ordenans of þe cause before wrytyn þe forsayde syr Robart for suth throw vertu of þe forsayde obligacyon rycht þan presently frely delyueryt and vp gefe wyth staf and

styk to þe forsayde Iōn þe landys before nemnyt qwhen þat wes done I ordaynyt þe forsayde syr Robart to gyf his trowth to þe forsayde Iōn and þe forsayde Iōn to gyf his trowth to þe forsayde sir Robart beand to þaim bath in vertu of sylk aht as is wytnest in þaire endentarys lelly to halde ferme and stabyl al thynge þare determynyt ordaynyt and dune þe qwhylk trowthys þai gefe bodely ilkane tyl othyr afermand as is before sayde nathynge þare agayne sayand and qwhen al þis wes dune as is before wrytyn þe forsayde Ion askyt me wes þat þe conclucyoun of myne ordenans to þe qwhylk askyng I þe forsayde Androw forsuth answeryt þat suthfastly yha And at al þis before wrytyn wes þus dune in dede on Monounday neste before Whyssonday þe yhere of houre Iorde A thowsand thre hundyr foure score and ffyve beand my ful and playne determynacyoun and þe ende of myne ordenans fullely demyt be twene þe forsayde syr Robart and Iōn of þe cause before sayde at þai put in myne ordenans as is befor wrytyn tyl al men I make knawyn throw þeis present lettrys endentyt beand my playne and ful endyt dome as is before wrytyn. Þe ta parte of þis endenture in wytnesynge of al thynge in it contenyt dwelland wyth þe forsayde syr Robart of my delyuerans as ful endyt dome vndyr my Cele / þe toþir parte of þis endenture in wytnesyng of al thynge in it contenyt dwelland wyth þe forsayde Iōn of my delyuerans as ful endyt dome vndyr my Cele and to þe wytnes of þe qwylkis al and syndry in þire endentyt lettrys contenyt tyl ilke parte of þe forsayde endentaris I hafe put my Cele."

In this and the preceding documents, the characteristics which I have already pointed out as distinguishing the language of the Early Period are fully exemplified. The original Ags. or French vowels remain unchanged, e.g. in *scath, bath, hafe, made, debate, dede, yher, deme, herys, contenyt, lelly, before, dome*, not *skaith, deid, befoir*, etc. Even the original *al* has not yet developed into *aul*, e.g. *halde*, not *hauld*. Also, the Ags. and Fr. diphthongs remain, e.g. in *agayne, playne, ayr, reuwleyt, trewly* (Ags. *riwle, triwe*), *maystir;* not as often in M. Sc. *agane*, etc. But the Ags. long *ó* and *ú* are already Scotch *u*, and *ou, ow* (see antè p. 52, note 1), as in *suthfast, gude* (not *guid*), *thowsand*, but vestiges of the older forms remain in *othyr, dome, done* (also *dune*); and the unaccented or short Ags. *u* is still *u* in *sune, twnge* (Ags. *sunu, tunge*). The Ags. simple *h* also often remains for the guttural in *heht, vmbethoht, ryhtwysly, aht*, though the more common Scotch *ch* makes its appearance in *knycht, rycht*. The French *sire* is *Syr*, not *Schir* as under Celtic influence it became in the Middle Scotch. The forms *aht, heht, vmbethoht, ryhtwys, yharnand*, and *nemnyt* are very archaic. *Oblyst, Mononday, Whyssonday*, are the forms still in use. The Relative in all these oldest specimens is *at*, unknown in the Middle Scotch. *Thir* is the usual plural of *this*, but in one place we find *theis*, as occasionally in Hampole's Pricke of Conscience. Was it an archaism, or a Southernism? The form *sylk* (such) is interesting, showing the different processes by which the Ags. *swilc, swylk, swilk*, has become the Mod. Eng. *such*, and Mod. Sc. *syc, sic*. In Sc. the *w* was first dropped, leaving *sylk*, whence, by the usual loss of *l*, *syk*. In Southern Eng. *swilc, swilch*, the *l* was first dropped, leaving *swich*, and the retention of the *w* changed the vowel, making *swuch, such* (compare Sc. *wut* for *wit*). In Sc. the early loss of the *w* kept the original vowel *syk, sic*.

In all these earliest specimens, the Ags. ȝ, answering to modern *y* consonant, is expressed by *yh* or *y*,—*yhe, yhow, yher, yharn, yheld*, as in *Cursor Mundi*, Hampole, and the contemporary northern literature in England. *Yh* is also the regular usage in the Royal MS. of Wyntown, but near the close of this period, the ȝ, universal in Middle Sc., *ȝe, ȝow, ȝeir, ȝarne*, made its appearance, as in the later transcript of the *Brus*. The *Craft of Deyng*, which in language belongs to the Early Period, but has its spelling modified by the scribe of 1490, uses *ȝh*, a transitional form between *yh* and ȝ, as in *ȝhe, ȝhere*, etc.

The regularity of the spelling in these oldest documents, and their close agreement with each other and the contemporary Northern English works, show that the writing of the vernacular in Scotland was no novelty or tentative experiment; and we cannot doubt that to the political distractions of the country during the long period of misery and strife produced by the ambition of Edward I., is due the fact that so few remains of the language of the Early Period have survived. Perhaps, however, other documents, such as Andrew Mercer's Award, still lie buried in the Charter chests of the Scottish landowners.

I may here conveniently gather up the chief distinctions between the word-forms of Early and Middle Scotch.

Letters and Sounds.—*Early Period.* The Anglo-Saxon long vowels *á*, *é*, *í* (*ý*), remain unchanged; originally *ó* and *ú* also remain, but in course of the 14th c., become *u*, *ou* (*ow*), as in English they became *oo*, *ow*. French *u*, *ou*, are at first both *u*, but later *u*, *ou* (*ow*). The letter *i* (*y*) is not used merely to indicate a preceding long vowel; after another vowel it indicates an original diphthong, as Ags, æȝ, eȝ, or French, *ai*, *ei*, etc. Ags. *eal* is *al*, as *halde;* French *an* is generally *aun*, *graunt*. The guttural is rep. by *h*, *gh*, *ch*. Ags. *hw* is q*w*, q*wh*, q*uh*. The Ags. ȝ, modern *y*, is *y*, *yh*. The Fr. *ll*, *gn mouillés*, are *lyh*, *nyh*, fa*lyh*e, *fenyh*e = fa*ille*, *feigne*.

Middle Period. The short *i* (*y*) has apparently assumed the opener sound it has in Modern Scotch, (like *e* in Eng. y*et*), and hence 1) is often lost from original diphthongs, as in ag*ane*, j*one*, for ag*ayn*, j*oin;* 2) is added to other vowels (like *e* in Eng. *toe*, *lie*, *due*), merely to indicate their length, so that the *a*, *e*, *i* (*y*), *o*, *ou*, *u*, of the preceding period are now *ai ay*, *ei ey*, *yi iy*, *oi oy*, *oui*, *ui uy wy* (Brwyss = Brūs); 3) is often replaced by *e*, as in *levis*, *gevand*, *revare*, *prekand* = lives, giving, river, pricking. Long *al* has become *aul* as in *aulde*, but the *aun* of the former period is more commonly *an*, as *grante*. Finally, *ie* often replaces an older *e* (*é*), as *veritie* for *verité*. The guttural is *ch*, *uch*, *wch* as in *aucht*, *bowcht;* *quh* is regular for Ags. *hw*. The *Ags.* ȝ is ȝ or z; and the *ll*, *gn mouillés* are *l*ȝ *l*z, *n*ȝ *n*z. *L* is suppressed in pronunciation, often also in spelling, after long vowels (chiefly *a*, *o*); and is inserted in the spelling of other words to indicate a long vowel as *walter*, *chalmyr*, *nolt* = *Ags.* wæter, *Fr.* chambre, *Isl.* naut. *T* drops away after another shut consonant, as in direk, corrup; and is added in spelling where it is not pronounced, as in *campt*, *zenytht*, l*act* = l*ack*, w*itht*. Original *s* before a front vowel, or after *r*, sometimes becomes *sch*, as in *schir*, *schervice*, *farsch*.

Words and Inflections.—*Early Period.* The article (and numeral) is *an* or *ane* before a vowel or absolutely, *a* before a consonant. The relative *at* is in common use, as well as *that*, and (less commonly) *the qwhyk*. *I* is used generally, but *Ik* often survives before a vowel. *Tha* (plural of *that*) and *thai*, *thay* (plural of *he*, *she*, *it*) are carefully separated; as also *thar*, *thare* = there, and *thair*, *thaire* = their. The participle in *-and* and gerund in *-yng* are distinguished. The forms *ma*, *ta*, now confined to N.W. of England used for *make*, *take*. *Well* is used, as in "a *wele* grete quhyle"; *erar* used for *sooner*, *rather;* *forowtyn* = besides, except, for-by; *na* for *nor* both disjunctively, and after comparatives, *na mare na the lam*. *An*, *and*, used = if.

Middle Period. The article (and numeral) is *ane* in all positions. The relative *at* is disused; *quhilk*, pl. *quhilk*is, and, late in the period, *quha*, are the relatives. *Ik* is not used. *Tha* (in consequence of the orthographical changes) is confounded with *thai*, *thay;* *thare* confounded with *thair*. The participial form begins to be confounded with the gerundial in *-ing*. *Do* used as an auxiliary, or mere expletive, in all parts of the verb, he sall *do* wryte, I haf *done* descryve. *Ta*, and *ma* are not found, *tane*, and *made* surviving. *Na* has become *nor;* a variety of particles *nor*, *than*, *as*, *be*, used after comparatives. *An*, *and*, disused; replaced by *gif*, *give*, *given*, *giuen*, *gien*.

The writers of this period, especially the poets, abound in *Southernisms*, chiefly Chaucerian. These are:

1) *Orthographical*, forms in *o*, for native ones in *a;* *one*, *both boyth*, *quhois*, *so*, *hold*, *moir*, *gone*, *song*, for *ane*, *baith*, *quhais*, *swa*, *hauld*, *mair*, *gane*, *sang;* forms in *o*, *oo* for native *u*, *ui;* *above*, *door*, *stood*, for *abufe*, *dure*, *stude*.

2) *Grammatical.* Thay *bene* = thay *er;* *doith* for *duse*, *dois;* infinitives in *-en* as to *sene*, to *sayne*, to *se*, to *say;* participles in *y-* as *ybent*, *ycome*, for *bendit bent*, *cumyn;* English preterites, etc., as, thow *bair* for *bure*, *holdin* for *hauldin;* *whiche* for *quhilk;* *frome* for *fra;* *morow* for *morne*.

Prosody.—*Early Period.* In sustained poetry the inflectional *-is* of nouns and often also of verbs, makes an additional syllable in monosyllabic words, and in longer words where a preceding vowel can be omitted, as *land-is*, *fad-rys*, *wap-nys*. *Middle Period.* The making an additional syllable of the *-is* becomes first optional, as in modern German, and then by the latter end of the 16th c. ceases altogether.

THE DIALECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND.

PRONUNCIATION.

In comparing cognate words in kindred languages or dialects, the chief differences which present themselves to our notice concern the *vowels*; even in idioms which have been long severed from each other, and have had quite different histories, the *consonantal skeleton* of such words is found to remain more or less identical. We may see this in comparing Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic; Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French; German and Dutch; Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and English.[1] In the case of dialects so closely related as the various forms of the Teutonic speech, once written and still spoken in the British Isles, this obtains, of course, much more strongly; and the points which distinguish from each other the literary or Standard English, the English of Dorset, of Norfolk, of Yorkshire, of Cumberland, the Lowland tongue of Teviotdale, of Ayr, of Fife, and of Aberdeen, are, not indeed exclusively, but at least, to a very great extent, *vowel differences*. The only consonantal element present in the Lowland Scotch, and wanting in the English, is the guttural in *nicht*, *lauch* (the existence of which, however, in the Standard English, is a much more recent matter than is generally supposed). If to this we add a stronger and more archaic utterance of R, WH, and H; the use of the original K and SK for the derived CH and SH; the occasional interchange of S and SH; a different treatment of many consonantal combinations, by the transposition of their elements, the utterance of both where the literary English has allowed one to become silent (as in WR, KN, initial), or the dropping of one where the literary tongue preserves both (as in MB, ND, NG, PT, KT, final); and the diverse treatment of the liquid L,—we sum up the leading differences in the articulate framework of words common

[1] Compare *Lat.* MoRTua, *Ital.* MuoRTa, *Span.* MueRTa, *Portug.* MoRTa, *French* MoRTe, *Germ.* HaBBeN Sie eiN BuCH, *Dutch* HeBBeN Zij eeN BoeK, *Germ.* STeiN, *Dutch* STeeN, *Frisian* STiëN, *Dan.* STeeN, *Swedish* STeN, *Icel.* STeiNN, *Ags.* STáN, STæN, *Old Eng.* STOaN, STooN, *Eng.* SToNe, *dialectically* STowN, STOäN, STooiN, STooaN, STwoNe; STeeaN, STayaN, STeyaN, STyaN, STeaNe, STaNe, STehN, STeeN.

to the Scottish and North English dialects with the literary English. But when we proceed to compare the vowel sounds—the breath of life by which these same "articulate-skeletons" are converted into living words—we find on every hand differences and contrasts. Not only are the vowel sounds in corresponding words, *e.g.* in *book—buik*, *stone—steane*, *would—wald*, *different* vowels, but the vowel system of the dialect as a whole is not the English vowel system. The two may run parallel with each other,—as all vowel systems must do, while human organs of utterance continue the same,—each may have its *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, as the other has, but the sounds naturally or habitually associated with the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* in the one, are not those associated with them by the mouth and ears of a speaker of the other. In point of fact, there are scarcely any elements phonetically *identical* in the two systems; almost every vowel recognized in the one differs to some extent, either in quantity or quality, from the nearest vowel sound in the other, and though each distinction may seem in itself a slight one, their sum is sufficient to give a very marked character of difference to the language as a whole. (Compare the effect of a mere *quantitative* change, as in the Scotch *feit*, *heil*, *deip*, for the English *feet*, *heel*, *deep*; or an equally minute change of vowel *quality*, in the Scotch *ceitie*, *suffeicient*, compared with the English *city*, *sufficient*). The practical effect of this difference is much increased by the fact that the sounds which are *phonetically* nearest in the two idioms are not those which are *etymologically* most closely related, for here, as elsewhere, "strangers walk as friends, and friends as strangers." For example, the nearest Scotch sound to the English long *ō*, in *stone*, *bone*, *home*, is the *o* in *store* or *woal*! But the Scotch form of these words is not therefore *stoan*, *boan*, *hoam*: that is indeed the *Scotch English*, the pronunciation with which these words are usually read as English, — but the Scotch is (in the southern counties) *steane*, *beane*, *heame*. The Scotch *uw* and *ow* in *huw*, *gowpin*, are not far from the English *ou*, *ow*, in *about*, *power*; but the Scotch is not therefore *abuwt*, *puwr*, or *abowt*, *powr*, but *aboot*, *poor*. With similar results we might examine the other vowel sounds.

Moreover, the effect of *accent* or *vocal stress* comes to increase and exaggerate these differences. I do not here refer to what is commonly meant by "the Scotch accent," "the French accent," etc., *i.e.* the modulation or intonation of sentences, the general key of the voice and its inflections. That is indeed a great and patent distinction, which, although the most volatile and intangible, is yet the most tenacious and ineradicable characteristic of a dialect, lingering, and even surviving in full vigour, after every point of verbal distinction, or mere vowel difference, has long passed away. "This accent," the author of *English Pronunciation* has remarked in an earlier work,[1] "does not lie merely

[1] Essentials of Phonetics, London, 1848, p. 80.

in the pronunciation of individual words, but in the peculiar mode of intonating whole sentences. A Frenchman, a German, an Italian and an Englishman, would read a sentence, having precisely the same meaning, in a totally different succession of tones, setting it, so to speak, to a different air. There is hardly any part of a foreign language which is so difficult to acquire, and yet hardly any in which failure is more likely to excite ridicule . . . . But in the great majority of cases, the difference is too fine for symbolisation, and must be left to a loose description, or a mere indication, as, 'with an Irish brogue, a Scotch drawl or rising inflection, with an American nasal twang, with a French accent,' and so on." So little attention has hitherto been given to the whole subject of vocal modulation, and vocal gymnastics, in connection with ordinary reading and speech, that such a loose description as that referred to is still almost all that either writers or readers are prepared for. But a careful investigation of the subject by Mr. A. Melville Bell has shown that the peculiar modulation or "accent" of any language depends usually upon a simple repetition of the same series of tones with a variety of pitch, and that the writing of these dialectic tunes is thus comparatively easy, as will also be their reading, when a little elementary training in the principles of vocal modulation shall have become an essential part of ordinary education.[1]

[1] Dialectic tunes depend principally on relative pitch of elementary vocal inflexions, distinguished as Simple Rise, Simple Fall, Compound Rise, Compound Fall, Rising Double Wave. These five tones, with two varieties of pitch, constitute the "gamut of speaking tones" designed by Mr. A. Melville Bell. By means of this gamut and a few modifying signs the author states that any variety of phraseological melody may be exhibited to the eye with such approximate accuracy as to be reproduced from the writing by those who have mastered the elements of the scale. The essential characteristic of relative pitch is very simply indicated by placing the five elementary signs above or below the syllables to which they refer. In Mr. Melville Bell's most recent development of the gamut a further distinction is shewn in connection with pre-accentual tones, which affect the expressiveness of the accentual inflexions by being turned towards, or from the pitch of the accent. The following analysis of the gamut has been tabulated for us by Mr. Bell:—

GAMUT OF SPEAKING TONES.

ELEMENTARY TONES.		SIGNS.	PITCH.	
Rising Tone ...	Simple	/	above. / below.	In relation to a preceding tone, or to the middle of the voice.
	Compound...	V	above. / below.	
Falling Tone...	Simple	\	above. / below.	
	Compound...	Λ	above. / below.	
Rising Double Wave.....		N	above. / below.	

But, what I now refer to, is the effect of syllabic accent or emphasis, in sharpening the accented, and dulling, or obscuring, the unaccented parts of a word, so that the same letters, and even the same word, have quite a different sound when unaccented from that which they have when accented. Even in English we are familiar with this effect of the presence or absence of accent, in comparing *man*ly and horse*man*, *body* and no*body*, *age* and non-*age*, *day*ly and Mon*day*, *fullness* and *nestful*, *day-school* and *school-day*, *tea* and guin*ea*. But in the Scotch dialects the principle extends much farther, so that all vowels, when final in syllables, if not under an accent primary or secondary, lose their own sound, and assume an obscure or neutral quality. While, therefore, every English long vowel can also occur *brief*, i.e. short in an open syllable, as in *re*-cover, Mon*day*, outl*aw*, grott*o*, corn*u*-copi*a*, so that we have pairs of *long* and *brief* vowels; in some of the Scotch dialects there seems to be only *one*, in others, including that of the Southern counties, *two* such brief vowels, into one or other of which all the others fall when unaccented. On the other hand, every long vowel in Scotch can also be *stopped* (that is, abruptly closed by the following consonant, as in *bă̆t*-tle, not *bā*-ttle,) without change of vowel quality, so that in Scotch we have pairs of *long* and *stopped* vowels. But in English, apparently, none of the long vowels occurs stopped, or shortened in quantity, without also changing its *quality*, so that the 'long' and 'stopped,' or 'closed,' vowels do not form pairs. Thus the *a* in *pat* is not the short of the *a* in *pale*, nor of the *a* in *pass*, in *palm*, or in *pall*. From each and all of these long *a's* it differs in quality as well as quantity, while a long vowel agreeing with it in quality is not used in the Standard English. In the same way the *o* in *lot* is not the short of the *o* in *lo*, nor the *oo* in *book* of the *oo* in *boon*. But in Scotch the *a* in màn is the short of the *aa* in d*aa*r, the *o* in nòt of the *oa* in r*oa*d, the *oo* in st*oo*k of the *oo* in st*oo*r. Now, from the difficulty which people experience in realizing or identifying even a familiar sound, under conditions of accent or quantity different from those which they have been accustomed to associate with it, these two methods of treating short and unaccented vowels result in a great practical difference in actual speech. Thus, comparing the Standard English and the Scotch pronunciation of *widow*,—English wĭdŏ (wido), Scotch weĭdă (widə),—we observe not only the different treatment of the final unaccented vowels, but, in the accented syllable, an English speaker hearing *weid* (wid) as distinct from his *wid* (wĭd) is apt to identify this unfamiliar sound with the familiar *weed* (wiid), and to hear the Scotch as *weeder* (wiidah). When, on the other hand, the difference is one only of quantity, as in *reikie* (Auld Reekie), the English ear hearing rĕĭkie (rikĭ) as distinct from the English rēēky (riikĭ) is apt to identify it with *ricky* (rĭkĭ), the short *i* being the nearest English stopped vowel to the long *e*. Exactly

in the same way Englishmen are apt to pronounce the French *fini* (fini) either *finny* (fíni), as in *finish*, or *fēēnēē* (fiinii), the intermediate French and Scotch true short *e͡e* in *fe͡e ne͡e* (fini) being a new and hard-to-be-apprehended sound.

Since, as has already been mentioned, every long vowel can also occur stopped (*i.e.* short in a closed syllable), without change of quality; and, since vowels are regularly closed in positions where they remain long in the Standard English, the following general rules, as to where a vowel remains long, and where it is shortened by the following consonant, are important:—

1. A vowel at the end of a monosyllable, or accented final syllable, is long; as *wee*, tiny, *day*; *faa*, fall; *gœ*, gave; *schui*, shoe.

The words *a*, *the*, can scarcely be looked upon as exceptions, for, so far as pronunciation is concerned, they are not independent words, but mere prefixes, or initial syllables to the words which they define, and are consequently brief (*i.e.* short in an open syllable). The same may be said of possessives and prepositions like *maa*, my; *tui*, to; *wui*, with; *frœ*, from; *i*, in; which have a long sound only when emphatic, but otherwise are brief, *mă*, *tă*, *wă*, *fră*, *ă*, like *a-* in *ă-bove*, *ă-mong*.

The above rule also holds good, where such a monosyllable is followed by *s* or *d*, in the process of noun- or verb-inflection, as *faa*, *faa's*, *day*, *days*, *preae*, *preaed*, *preaes*.

2. A vowel is also long before the sounds of *r*, *z*, *v*, and *th* vocal (dh), however these may be written, as *meir*, mare; *fayr*, fair; *duose*, dose; *bleeze*, blaze; *moove*, move; *leeve*, live; *scheave*, shave; *braythe*, breathe; *baythe*, bathe; or, when *s* or *d* are added in inflection, as *meirs*, *fayrs*, *bleez'd*, *leeves*, *leeved*, *braythes*, *meethes*, bounds. But not when these consonants are followed by another consonant in a root word, as *păirt*, *hărt*, *pŭŏrt*, *cŭŏrn*, *feărce*; contrast *cāyr*, *cāyr'd*=cared, with *caird*=card (keer, keerd, kerd).

3. Before all other consonants in monosyllables, and before consonants generally, in words of two or more syllables, a vowel is stopped, even when long in English, as *hĕĭt*, heat; *sĕĭn*, seen; Leith, *feăte* fate, *băĭt* bait, *pŏle* pole, *spŭŏrt* sport, *höoss* house, *mŭin* moon, *băĭrn* child, *făĭther* father, *wăitter* water, *buŏrder* border, *Jĕĭnie* Jeanie, *sŏber*.

Exception to this rule must be marked in writing.

4. But when a polysyllable is derived from a monosyllable it follows the quantity of its primitive, as *druōver* from *druōve*, which does not rhyme with *duŏver*, to sleep lightly; *rūōzie* rosy, does not rhyme with *cuŏzie* cosy, *baythe*r bather, from *baythe*, does not rhyme with *făĭther* father.

The words *long* and *short* are used *relatively*, and with reference to the dialect itself. Absolutely, *short*, or, as it might better be called, *ordinary* or *natural*, quantity in Scotch is longer than English short quantity, though not quite so long as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch is much longer than long quantity in English. Thus, when I compare Scotch *cheap* and

cheep with English *cheap*, I hear the Scotch short *e* in *cheap* nearly as long as, but the Scotch long *e* in *cheep* much longer than, the English long *e* in *cheap*.[1] This greater natural or ordinary length of the vowels is no doubt a chief cause of that more leisurely enunciation which is known as the *Scotch drawl*. It is to be noted, however, that the distinction between long and short is much more distinctly preserved in the 'high' than in the 'low' or open vowels; with *æ* and *à*, and to a less degree with *ai* and *ò*, there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce *egg, skep, yett, beg, bag, rag, bad, bog, dog*, as *ehg, skehp, yeht, behg, baag, raag, baad, boag, doag* (ææg, skææp, jææt, bææg, baag, raag, baad, boog, doog).

In order to show the exact values of the sounds used in the Scottish dialect of the Southern counties, and their relation to the English sounds, I give, by permission of Mr. Melville Bell, the Universal Table of sounds from his Visible Speech Alphabet, and place under each symbol the equivalent from the 'Palaeotype' of Mr. Ellis.[2] In the subsequent description of the sounds occurring in this dialect, their palaeotype symbols are given within parentheses; by means of the table these can be referred to their Visible Speech equivalents, and, consequently, to their organic formation.

The spelling used in the work itself is based upon the historical usage of the Scottish writers, modified so as to adapt it to the dialect under consideration. In these modifications three principles have been kept in view. First, to make the spelling systematic; without indeed representing each sound by one invariable symbol in all positions, to provide that the same letter, or combination of letters, should always have the same sound. Secondly, to represent to the eye the differences patent to the ear between the Dialect and the Standard English; to spell words in such a way as at least to suggest that they are not identical in sound with their English representatives. And, thirdly, as far as consistent with the other two principles, to use forms for which a precedent already exists in Scotch usage. Fortunately, the latter presents considerable variety, so that, in most cases, one or other of the equivalents of each sound, already or formerly in use, could be appropriated. The result will be seen in the list and description of the vowels and diphthongs used in the dialect of the Southern counties, which follow.

[1] Even in English, quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vowel sounds in *thief, thieves, cease, sees*, are considered all alike long *e*, *thieves* and *sees* are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel than *thief* and *cease*. It would perhaps be most correct to say that Scotch long quantity is like that in *sees*, short quantity nearly like that in *cease*.

[2] The "Visible Speech" and Palaeotype symbols have been placed diagonally, so as not to interfere with the eye taking in the full series of either, whether horizontally or vertically.

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH ALPHABET COMPARED WITH MR. ELLIS'S PALAEOTYPE.

THE VOWELS.

CLASS.		(PRIMARY).			WIDE.		
	POSITION.	BACK.	MIXED.	FRONT.	BACK.	MIXED.	FRONT.
(PRIMARY) Lingual.	HIGH.	œ	Y	i	ɐ	*y*	*i*
	MID.	ɜ	ə	*e*	a	ah	e
	LOW.	Œ	əh	E	*a*	œ	æ
ROUND. (Labio-Labial.)	HIGH.	u	U	I	*u*	*u*h	y
	MID.	*o*	*o*h	*ə*	o	oh	œ
	LOW.	A	*a*h	*ə*h	ɔ	ɔh	æh

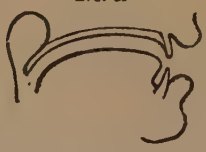
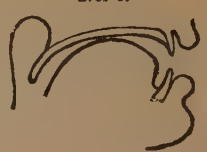
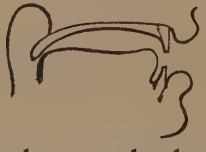
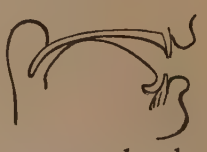
THE GLIDES, ETC. (IN PART ONLY.)

Voice Gl.	Round.	Front.	F. Rnd.	Lip Rnd.	Point.	Back Gl.	Catch.	Whisper.	Aspirate.
'	*w*	i,ɹ	y	u,ʍ	ɹ	*r*	;	‘	H‘

THE CONSONANTS.

QUALITY.	POSITION.	PRIMARY.	MIXED.	DIVIDED.	MIX.-DIV.	SHUT.	NASAL.
(*BREATH.*)	BACK (*Guttural*)	kh	k*w*h	*l*h	*lw*h	k	qh
	FRONT (*Palatal*).	Jh	s	ljh	th	tj	njh
	POINT (*Dental*).	rh	sh	lh	*t*h	t	nh
	LIP (*Labial.*)	ph	wh	f	fh	p	mh
VOICE.	BACK.	gh	g*w*h	*l*	*lw*	g	q
	FRONT.	J	z	lj	dh	dj	nj
	POINT.	r	zh	l	*d*h	d	n
	LIP.	bh	w	v	vh	b	m

LINGUAL POSITIONS OF THE VOWELS.

No. 1. ɶ, ɐ, u, *u*.	No. 2. Y, *y*, U, *u*h.	No. 3. i, *i*, I, y.
No. 4. Ɜ, a, *o*, ɔ.	No. 5.  ə, ah, *o*h, oh.	No. 6.  *e*, e, *ə*, œ.
No. 7. Œ, *a*, A, ɔ.	No. 8.  əh, æ, *a*h, ɔh.	No. 9.  E, æ, *ə*h, æh.

LABIAL POSITIONS OF THE VOWELS.

No. 10. u, *u*; U, *uh*; I, y.	No. 11. *o*, o; *o*h, oh; *ə*, œ.	No. 12. A, ɔ; *a*h, ɔh; *ə*h, æh.

Remarks.

The vowels are named thus: (i) *High-front*; (æ) *Low-front-wide*; (o) *Mid-back-round*; (œ) *Mid-front-wide-round.* Lengthening is expressed in Visible Speech by adding the 'holder' ⸽ to the symbol of the sound to be lengthened; in Palaeotype, by doubling the symbol, thus [[i (ii), the *ee* in *see.* The diphthongs are expressed by adding the *w* ⸾, *y* ⸿, or *voice* glide ⸌; in Palaeotype, by adding (u, i, ə, ',) thus ⸌⸾, [⸿, [⸌ (ɪu, ei, *iə i*'), the Scotch diphthongs in l*ow*p, l*ey*ke, and br*eae*, respectively.

The nine 'primary' vowels are formed by the simple action of the tongue and oral cavity, with the lips open, and the pharynx contracted, only in a less degree than for consonants, (i, *e*, ɛ), between the *front* of the tongue and the palate, with a 'high' or narrow, a 'middle' or natural, and a 'low' or wide aperture respectively; (*æ*, ɑ, œ), between the *back* of the tongue and back palate, with the same three widths of aperture; the 'mixed' series (ʏ, ə, əh,) by a simultaneous pronunciation of the 'front' and 'back' vowels just described, conformative apertures being formed both at back and front, with an arching of the tongue between. These nine conformations of the mouth are shewn in the preceding diagram of Lingual positions. The nine 'Wide' vowels are the primary vowels, with the pharyngal cavity naturally relaxed or widened during their utterance. The 'Round' vowels are the nine primaries, with the lips 'rounded' or pouted during their pronunciation, as shewn in the diagram of Labial positions. The "Wide-round" vowels are the nine primaries, with pharynx widened, and lips rounded at same time. Thus the *ee* in *feet* (i), when *widened*, becomes the *i* in *fit* (*i*); when *rounded*, the German *ü* in *übel* (ʏ); when both *widened* and *rounded*, the French *u* in *une* (y).

The consonants are thus named: ⸦ (kh) *back*, ⸧ (s) *front-mixed*, ⸨ (n) *point-nasal-voice*, ⸩ (v) *lip-divided-voice*, ⸪ (b) *lip-shut-voice.* The 'breath' consonants are formed by the expulsion of non-vocal breath through the "conformative aperture;" the 'voice' consonants by the expulsion of vocal breath through the same; thus, the sounds of T and D differ only in the fact that the one is formed by simple breath ⸫, the other by voice ⸬. All oral consonants therefore exist in pairs of breath and voice.[1] The 'primary' consonants are formed by central apertures between the back of the tongue, arched surface of the tongue, or tip of the tongue, and adjacent part of the palate, or between the lips. In the 'Divided' consonants the same apertures are divided by a central contact of the parts, the breath escaping on each side. In the 'Shut' consonants, or mutes, the apertures are entirely closed, and forcibly opened by the stream of breath. In the 'Nasals' the apertures are kept closed, and the breath or voice directed through the nose. The 'Mixed' series are produced by a simultaneous formation of two modifying apertures. Thus, in *blowing to cool*, we form the

[1] A third series formed by *whispered voice*, like the German final D in kin*d*, and the Gaelic B and D in *b*ar*d*, and thus appearing to lie between T and D, P and B, etc., is not here considered.

primary 'lip' consonant ↄ (denoted in palaeotype by ph, and forming a letter in several West African languages), the breath being modified only by the round aperture of the lips. By dividing the aperture, artificially with a slip of card, or naturally, by touching the upper teeth with the centre of the lower lip, we produce the 'Lip-divided' Ↄ, or ordinary F. Shutting the lips entirely, and forcibly opening them by expulsion of breath, we form the 'lip-shut' ↀ, or common P. Substituting voice for mere breath, P becomes B, ↁ. Retaining the lips shut, and directing the voice through the nose, we have the 'lip-nasal' ↂ, or M. If, while forming the primary lip consonant (ph) as before, we simultaneously contract the back of the oral cavity, we produce the 'lip-mixed' ↄ, or WH. Contracting the back cavity still more, and proportionally opening the labial one, we make the 'back-mixed' ↄ, or Southern Scottish guttural in *lauwch*. Taking off the labial action entirely, we have the 'back-primary,' or ordinary guttural C, in Gaelic *clachan*, German *ach!* Opening the back cavity also, and allowing the breath to escape without any oral modification, we have the ordinary aspirate O, or H.

By means of the 'outer' ⸣ and 'inner' ⸢, position symbols, consonantal varieties are expressed: thus C⸣ (kj), is the 'forward' *k* in *c*ard, s*k*y; ɛ⸣ (gj), the 'forward' *g* in *g*uard, and Northern Scotch *g*ang or *g*yang. The palatalized or forward variety of the guttural (kjh), as in German *ich*, and Southern Scottish *neycht*, *fæycht*, is similarly expressed by C⸣.

No one language possesses all the vocal elements represented in the table; a selection from their number, comprising usually from one third to a half of the vowels, and from one half to five-eighths of the consonants, with a few of the glides, forms the "phonetic system" of any particular language or dialect, which it strives to embody in its alphabet. Not only do different languages differ in the elements which they thus select from the great natural scale, but the same language varies in different stages of its history, altogether losing sounds which it once possessed, and adopting new sounds formerly unknown. Thus, to compare the consonants (which are least affected in this way), we find that modern English uses, among others, four elements which German does not use, viz., those represented by (th, dh, wh, w) in *th*in, *th*en, *wh*ey, *w*ay, while German makes use, among others, of five which English refuses, viz. (kh, k*w*h, gh, g*w*h, bh), in ac*h*! au*ch*, ta*g*, au*g*e, *w*o. The sounds which one idiom thus refuses, it replaces by others of the same class; German replaces the 'lip-mixed-voice' ↄ (w) in English *w*ay by the 'lip-primary-voice' ↄ (bh) in German *w*eg. English replaces the 'back-primary' C (kh) in German bra*ch* by the 'back-shut' C (k) in English bro*k*e.

A full understanding of these changes, so important to the comparative philologist, can only be gained through the medium of "Visible Speech," without which, also, precision in explaining dialectical varieties of sound would be quite hopeless.

THE SOUTHERN SCOTTISH VOWELS.

The following constitute the simple sounds, or vowel scale of this Dialect :—

VISIBLE SPEECH VOWEL AND SYMBOL.	PALAEO.	SCOTCH REPRESENT.	EXAMPLES.[1]
1. High front ſ	i	ei, ee, e	L*ei*th; K*ei*r, cr*ee*p, w*ee*; b*e*-làng.
2. High front wide ſ	*i*	i, ie	eit*it*, fysch-*is*, cant-*ie*, wurr-*iet*.
3. High front wide with Voice Glide ſI	*i'*	ea, eae	we*ă*de; the*ā*re, we*ae*.
4. Mid front ʗ	*e*	ai, ay	T*ai*t; *Ayr*, f*ay*th, w*ay*.
5. Mid front wide ʗ	e	y, (e, a)	hyll, fyrst; syll-*er*, dynn-*a*.
6. Low front wide ɪ	æ	æ	m*æ*n, h*æ*d; y*ā*tt, f*ā*rr, h*æ*.
7. Low back wide ɾ	*a*	à, aa	màn, pàst; bl*aa*, l*aa*nd, F*aa*.
8. Mid back ɔ	ɐ	u	b*u*rr, gr*u*nd, c*u*t.
9. Mid back wide round ɜ	o	ò, oa	Rò*b*, scò*n*; d*oa*r, ro*a*d, wo*a*!
10. High back wide round with Voice Glide ɜI	*ú'*	uo	bu*o*t; b*ūo*re, cl*ūo*se, fr*uo*.
11. High back round ɜ	u	oo	d*oo*t; st*ōo*r, sh*oo* !
12. Mid front round ʗ	*ə*	ui	s*ūi*t; p*ūi*r, d*ui*.

The six vowels, 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, in p*ee*r, p*ay*r, pær, p*aa*r, p*oa*r, p*oo*r; l*ei*d, l*ai*d, læd, làd, clòd, l*oo*d, in Palaeotype (piir, p*ee*r, pæær, p*aa*r, poor, p*uu*r ; lid, led, læd, l*a*d, klod, lud), meaning *peer, pare, pair, par, pore, power* or *pour*; *lead, laid, led, lad, clod, loud,*—are the simple or primitive elements of the scale. They appear to represent the six simple vowels of the Teutonic languages, *Anglo-saxon* wín, rén, sǽl, hál, hól, scúr ; *German* sieh, weh, ähre, saal, kohl, buhn ; *Moeso-Gothic* spillan, etan, bairan, swaran, fotus, tunthus; *Danish* i, e, æ, a, o, u, etc. The original simple vowels of the Roman alphabet seem to have been only five, and in adapting the Roman letters to the various Teutonic idioms we find that No. 6 has been variously represented by ai, æ, ä, ä, indicating its position between e and a. In the modern idioms, however, the distinction between Nos. 4 and 6, or 6 and 7, has been greatly lost. Thus Modern German confuses e and ä, while English uses short *a* for both *a* and *æ* of the Anglo-saxon ; *man* and *fat*, for Ags. *man* and *fæt*.

[1] The semicolons separate *closed, long,* and *brief,* or unaccented open, vowels. The words are Leith ; Keir, creep, *wee* (tiny) ; belong ; ate, fishes, *cantie,* worried ; wade ; there, wo ; Tait ; Ayr, faith, way ; hill, first ; silver, do not ; men, had ; gate, far, have ; man, past ; blow, land, Faa ; burr, ground, cut ; *Rob* (Bob), *scon* (griddle-cake), door, road, *wo !* (to stop a horse) ; boat ; bore, close, froth ; doubt ; *stour* (dust in motion), *shoo!* (to drive away birds, etc., by calling *sh !*) suit ; poor, do.

Remarks on the Vowels.

1. "High Front" vowel (Pal. i), English *e, ee, ea, ei*, etc., in m*e*, s*ee*, f*eet*, m*ete*, f*ield*, m*ean*, be-fore; French, î, i, in *gîte, fini*; Italian *i* in *vino, Lunedì, fisso*; German ie, i, in *sieh, mir, mit*. This vowel is in English long and brief. For the stopped sound, is substituted No. 2, the "High Front Wide" (*i*) in *pit, tin*. In Scotch it is found long, brief, and stopped. *Long*, final in *wee, yee* (wii, ii); medial, before *r, z, th* (dh), *v*, as *weir, leeze, meethes deeve* (wiir, liiz, miidhz, diiv). *Brief* in prefixes, as *be*-lang, *de*-mein, *re*-gărd (bi-laq·, di-min·, ri-gerd·). *Stopped*, before other consonants, as *seik, feit, deip, lein, feist* (sik, fit, dip, lin, fist), French *sique, fitte, dippe, line, fiste*, which must be carefully distinguished alike from the English seek, feet, deep, lean, feast (siik, fiit, diip, liin, fiist), to which they correspond in meaning, and the English sick, fit, dip, linn, fist (s*i*k, f*i*t, d*i*p, l*i*n, f*i*st). The historical Scotch spelling *ei* is adopted for this sound when medial; *deip* will thus be distinguished alike from *deep* and *dip* (*Pal.* dip, diip, d*i*p). When final, *ee* is used; and the same symbolisation may be used for the medial sound when long, except before *r*, where *ei* will naturally be pronounced long, thus, *meir, keek, sweep, cheep* (miir, kiik, swiip, tshiip) as distinct from *cheip* cheap (tship). When brief *e* is used, as *be-lang, wad-ye?* (bilaq·, wad·i).

This vowel rarely occurs *final* in the Southern Scottish dialect; the final long *ee* of English and other Scottish dialects being replaced by the diphthong *ey* (*Pal.* ei), as *me, sea, bee*, Southern Scottish *mey, sey, bey*.

2. "High Front Wide" (Pal. *i*). In deference to the opinions of Mr. Ellis and Mr. Melville Bell, I identify the unaccented *ie, i*, in bònn*ie*, măirr*iet*, fytt*it*, lass*is*, lass*ies*, with the English short *i, y*, in m*a*n*y*, marr*ied*, benef*it*, Harr*is*, merc*ies*. My own appreciation of the sound would lead me to refer it rather to the short of No. 1, the French *i* in f*i*ni, and the Scotch *ei* in f*ei*t. At least when the sound is emphasised or artificially prolonged, it seems to become pure *ee*, as *cun-tree* in singing, which is different from the English coun-try; and I think the Southern Scotch sound must at least be considered a closer or less 'wide' variety of (*i*) than the English *i* in *it*. The terminations *-y, -it, -es*, in the more northern Scottish dialects, present an opener or lower sound than this, and if this is identified with the English *i* in *it*, must be considered as *ai* or *y* (*e*, e). Compare the Lothian *kyntrae lasses* (kyntre lasez) with Teviotdale *cuintrie lassis* (kəntri lasiz). The Southern Counties' sound I represent by *ie* final, *i* medial; the opener sound of other dialects by *ae* final, *e* or *y medial*. Historically, we find both *kyntrae* and *cuntrie, fyschis* and *fyschys, graythit* and *graythyt*.

3. "High Front Wide," with Voice Glide; the second element tending to become the "Mid mixed wide," and "Mid front wide"

vowels (*Pal. i', íə, íe*). This, the *ea, eae,* in *leade, breae,* is a very difficult sound to analyse. When pronounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally be recognized as the long of the English *i,* heard in singing *bit* to a long note b*i-i-i-*t, this sound gliding or opening at the end into the *e* in *yet,* Scotch *y* in *byt,* or perhaps the "Mid-mixed" vowel in the second syllable of re*a*l, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch *y* in *myll* (mel) and *u* in *mull* (mɜl). I often hear the identical sound in English when the word *real* (rii·əl) is carelessly pronounced, as (ri·əl, *ri'*l). When rapidly pronounced, especially in a closed syllable, as *beat, teape,* the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impure *ee* or close *ai.* Etymologically, indeed, the sound is an *ā,* which in English partly remains *ā,* partly has become *ē,* while in Scotch it takes the intermediate, as English *hale, heal* (=*heel*), Scotch *heale.* In North English dialects this sound is written *eea* or *eya,* as *steean, steyan,* and is more distinctly diphthongal, the second element, which is brief and fugacious in Southern Scotch, being there dwelt on equally with the first element, or even receiving the chief accent. Both forms appear to be described in Barnes's Dorset Grammar (p. 12), illustrated by *bēd* and *meäd.* In Scotch, when this *ea* is initial, or preceded by *h,* it develops into *yeh* (ɜe), the first element (*i*) becoming the consonant *y,* the second being then distinctly heard as the *e* in *yet* (*Pal.* e) and accented. So in Norse we have *jarl* for the Ags. *eorl,* jord for the Ags. eorðe, Swedish *stjern, tjenare, hjerta,* German *Stern, Diener, Hertz.* In this dialect both forms are in use, *ea* being the older, *yeh,* the newer, thus :—

Eae	or	yeh	=	*one,* O.E. *o,oo*	earth	or	yerth	= *earth*
eane	,,	yen	,,	*one*	eate	,,	yet	,, *oat*
eable	,,	yebble	,,	*able*	earb	,,	yerb	,, *herb*
eablins	,,	yeblins	,,	*ablins*	eacre	,,	yecker	,, *acre*
Eaben	,,	Yebben	,,	*Ebenezer*	heae!	,,	hyeh!	,, *here! tiens!*
eace	,,	yess	,,	*ace*	heade	,,	hyed	,, *a whit*
eade	,,	Yed	,,	*Adam*	heale	,,	hyel	,, *hale, whole*
eage	,,	yedge	,,	*age*	heame	,,	hyem	,, *home*
eake	,,	yek	,,	*oak*	hearsch	,,	hyersch	,, *hoarse*
eale	,,	yell	,,	*ale*	hearschel	,,	hyerschel	,, *hare-lipped*
eance	,,	yence	,,	*once*	hearo	,,	hyero	,, *hero*
earl	,,	yerl	,,	*earl*	heaste	,,	hyest	,, *haste*
earm	,,	yerm	,,	to *whine*	heastie	,,	hyestie	,, *haste ye!*
earn	,,	yern	,,	*curdle*	heate	,,	hyet	,, *hate*

This development confirms the primitive sound, as (*i'*) the development being (*i', íə, íe, ie, ié,* ɜe). It is here written *eae* final, *ea* medial. The initial *ea, hea,* developing into *yeh, hyeh* are written eä, heä, thus eäne, which may be read *eane* or *yen,* both pronunciations being common. It might be thought better to refer this sound to the diphthongs. As, however, it is no more diphthongal than the Southern English *ai* in *wait,* where the *a* glides into a closer sound, just as here the (*i*) glides into an opener, and a Scotchman is no more conscious than the Southern

Englishman is of uttering a double sound; and as the sound is in many respects treated as a simple one, it is here classed among the simple vowels. By means of it the Southern Scotch is enabled to distinguish in sound between numerous pairs of words sounded alike in English in *ee*, or in *ai*, thus:—

ENGLISH.	S. SCOTCH.	ENGLISH.	S. SCOTCH.
meal *flour*	meil (mil)	beet	beit (bit)
meal *repast*	meale (míəl)	beat	beate (bíət)
seen	sein	feet	feit
scene	seane	feat	feate
heel	heil	eave	eeve
heal	heäle	Eve	Eave

sail	sa͡il (sel)	laid	laid (led)
sale	seale (síəl)	lade	leade (líəd)
pain	pa͡in	tail	tail
pane	peane	tale	teale
main	main	maid	maid
mane	meane	made	meade

where, note that the *ei* and *ai* are short closed vowels (i, *e*), though long in English.

This distinction is not known in the Central Scotch dialects, where *sail* and *sale* are pronounced alike, with a close variety of *ai*, or even (*i*).[1] But in the English of 1685, Cooper distinguished between the two sounds, main mane, hail hale, maid made, tail tale. (See Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, p. 71.)

4. "Mid Front" (Pal. *e*). This vowel is perhaps an opener variety of (*e*) than the English vowel in *sail*, *say*, or the French in *j'ai été aidé*, approaching to (ɛ);[2] but its chief difference from the former lies in the fact that it is a *uniform* sound, not gliding

[1] In Caithness a distinction is made, quite different from the above. See Appendix.

[2] As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it is certainly opener than the French or English *ai* (*e*). But it is nearer to this (*e*) than to any other of the six front vowels. A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale, as suggested by Mr. Melville Bell, at page 16 of his "Visible Speech." The number of possible shades of vowel sound, for example, between the 'high' and 'low' of any series is infinite, forming a regular and insensible gradation from (i) to (ɛ), (u) to (ʌ), etc. Mr. Bell has considered the discrimination of *three* points, a 'high,' 'low,' and 'mid,' as practically sufficient, which is of course amply the case for any one language or dialect. But he has also pointed out the means of indicating a greater refinement by recognizing a *closer* or higher, and an *opener* or lower, variety of each position, thus making *nine* instead of *three* intervals. For the English and Scottish dialects it would be convenient to adopt this division, so far as concerns the 'mid' vowels, the precise degree of openness

or closing into *ee*, like the English,—at least the English of the south; thus, English day>ee, Scotch day-ay. This vowel is not recognized as stopped in English, the vowel in *wait, main,* being as long as in *way, may.* In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in *wayr, baythe, wāy, wāit, tāil* (Pal. weer, beedh, wee, wet, tel), the two last words being carefully distinguished fron the English *wait, tail* (weet, teel, *or* weeit, teeil), and *wet, tell,* but pronounced like the French *été.*

In the central dialects this vowel is pronounced much more closely, *i.e.* nearer to *ee*, so as to be almost like our No. 3. Thus *way, day,* are, in Edinburgh, nearly *weae, deae,* perhaps (*wii, dii*) —but see the note below. In the North-east this is still more remarkable, and a Southern ear would undoubtedly set down the pronunciation of *Jacob, compare, stane,* as Jeecub, compeer, steen.

5. "Mid Front Wide" (Pal. e). The Scotch *i* or *y*, in *fyll, pyt,* is a very different sound from the English *i* in *fill, pit,* to which it answers etymologically. As generally pronounced it appears to be identical with the English *e* in *bless, yes, yet,* as pronounced in London and the South of England, but not as heard from educated English speakers in the North, where (ɛ) is used.[1] In some parts of Scotland, I believe that the "high

given to which is very fluctuating. We might provisionally indicate these varieties in palaeotype, thus:

	Front.		*Front-wide.*		*Back-round.*		*Back-wide-round.*	
High.	i	i	ɨ	ɨ	u	u	ʉ	ʉ
High Mid.	.	é	.	é	.	ó	.	ó
Mid.	e	e	ɐ	ɐ	o	o	ɔ	ɔ
Low Mid.	.	è	.	è	.	ò	.	ò
Low.	ɛ	ɛ	æ	æ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ

The Eng. *ai* in w*ai*t being then (*è*) the South Sc. would be (*è*); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (*é*). The S. Sc. sound in br*eae* would probably be rather (*é'*) than (*i'*), as we are obliged to make it when using only the three vowels. The Sc. *y* in h*y*ll, b*y*t (see No. 4) would probably be (é) rather than (e), explaining how the diphthong *ey* seems closer than *aiy,* which it ought not to be if *y* in *byt* were the exact 'wide' of *ai* in bait. In the round vowels also, the very close *o* used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my *o*, seems almost (*u*), would probably be (*ó*), and the South Sc. *uo* (see No. 10) might be (*ó'*) rather than (*u'*). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever, in practical use, distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the 'primaries' and 'wides' of any series (except as accidental varietics due to the character of the following consonant, or to presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with, the other set.

[1] These words, *bless, yes, yet,* are pronounced almost identically in Sc. and Eng.; but while in Eng. they rhyme with *mess, Bess, pet, set,* in Sc.

mixed" and "mid mixed" vowels are used instead, and towards the west and centre, the "mid front" takes its place, *hyll, myll, mylk,* being pronounced *hull, mull, mulk* (hʉl, mʉl, mʉlk), as in the well-known *snuff-mull* (snʉf-mʉl).[1] In all parts of Scotland *i* is gutturalized into *u* after *w*, thus, *wull, wut, Wulliam, wun, quhun,* instead of *wyll, wyt, Wylliam, wyn, quhyn,* the English *will, wit, William, win, whin.* In English *w* has a similar effect upon *a*, seen in comparing *an, ant* with *wan, want* (æn, ænt, wAn, wAnt). This vowel never occurs long in the Southern Scotch dialect, for it does not occur at the end of a syllable under the accent, and before *r* its effect is to make the trill stronger, instead of being itself lengthened, as in *byrr, fyrr* (be.r, fe.r), etc.

I consider this also as the brief vowel in the Southern Counties' dialect, used for all the English brief vowels except (ĭ). Perhaps the kindred "mid mixed" vowels (ə, ah) would seem to some ears more entitled to this place, and, in truth, the sounds of all are so near that, when brief and unaccented, it is extremely difficult to distinguish them; but in emphasising and prolonging the final vowel in such words as *America, dynna, weido,* the sound I hear is the same as that in *hyll, bynd.* (In the more northern Scottish

they find rhymes in *miss, this, pit, sit,* having indeed been written with *i* or *y* by the Scottish writers: *yhis, yhit, blissin'* (*bless* being thus confounded with *bliss*). Eng. *set* and Sc. *sit* both rhyming to *yet*, seems to prove the identity of Sc. short *i* with Eng. short *e*, though there may be a shade of difference in openness, as stated in last note.

[1] Many years ago I read some remarks, by a southern critic, on the pulpit oratory of the late Dr. Chalmers, in which the pronunciation of that divine was given as "Let *hum* that is *fulthy* be *fulthy stull.*" With my Scotch value of *u*, I read the words italicised, as (hʉm, fʉlthi, stʉl), and knowing that this was *not* the pronunciation of Dr. Chalmers, I resented the caricature as a libel upon my native tongue. Acquaintance with Southern English habits of utterance has since shewn me that the London critic attached a different meaning to his spelling from that which I did, and only intended to give the Sc. pronunciation, as (hʊm, fʊlthi, stʊl), which he perhaps heard. Even if the sound really given were (hem, felthi, stel), with a "Scotch accent," it would be so far from the Eng. (hʌm, fʌlthi, stʌl) as to seem to a Londoner more like his *hum, fulthy, stull,* than anything else. In the same way, when Englishmen mean to represent broad Scotch vernacular, they write the Scotch pronunciation of *man* as *mon.* Scotchmen, with their Continental idea of short *o*, seeing this spelling, read *mon* as (mon) or (mɔn), and laugh at it as a pitiful caricature of their utterance, due either to Cockney ignorance or to a desire to cast ridicule upon the Scotch. But the English writer has no idea of suggesting the sounds of (mon) or (mɔn), which he would probably express by *morn, moan*; what he means is (mɔn), as in his own *on*, the Sc. *a* that he hears, being so much broader than his *a* in *man*, or indeed any Eng. short *a*, that he appreciates it only as a "Scotch variety" of (mɔn), and writes it *mon.* The truth is people's habits of hearing get into grooves, as well as their habits of utterance, so that neither hears sounds exactly as the other gives them, but as sounds in his own groove, more or less near them; and attaching as they do still more distinct values to the letters, the result is that the sound, after being, first, not quite accurately heard and described, and, secondly, still more inaccurately realized in the description, comes back to the speaker with an appearance, at which he kicks, as a wretched travesty.

dialects a much closer sound is used in such terminations. In the Lothians it is nearly *ay* or *eae*, usually written *ae*; and the Teviotdale *dynna, Munda, banna, väila*, nearly equal to the Cockney *denner, Munder, banner, vailer*, are, in the Lothians, *dynnae, Mundae, bannae, vailae*, nearly = *dennay, Munday, banney, vailay*. Further north the sound sinks almost into *ie*, as *dynnie, Mundie, bannie, vailie*.)

The letter *y* has been used from the earliest periods to express a (broader ?) variety of the *i* sound; thus, Ags. *hym, syttan*, for *him, sittan*. In the Scottish writers it was very common, thus Gawain Douglas: *dynlis, fyll, gymp, gyrd, myrk, mynt, pyt, qwyk* (quick), *ryng, rym, ryvere, sylly, tyll*, etc. There is, therefore, a good historical basis for adopting it to express this sound regularly when stopped. At the end of a word *a* is used, as in the closely allied English sound, in *manna, sofa*. When brief and indistinct in the middle of a word, *e* is used, as in the English *latter, latest, mallet*; also, to prevent confusion, after *y* initial in *yes, yet*, or *yen* the developed form of *eäne*. In both of these positions, *i, y* were used by the older Scottish writers, thus, *nevyr, wattir, heruyst, devyl, eityn, hevin, drevin, yhit, yhis, yhistyrday*, or *ȝit, ȝis, ȝistyrday, ȝystirday*.

6. "Low Front Wide" (Pal. æ). The English short *a* in *man, pat, lad* (as pronounced in the south), is the sound given in this dialect to *e*, in *men, pet, led*, viz., *mæn, pæt, læd*. In Anglo-saxon the sound was often written in the same way, as *græs* or *gærs*, grass, Sc. *gærse* or *græss*; Ags. *læsse*, less, Sc. *læss*; Ags. *bærn*, a barn, Sc. *bærn*. The sound does not occur long in the Standard English, but is very common in the West of England, where *Bath, basket, ask*, are pronounced (bææth, bææskət, ææsk), and in Ireland, where the letter A is commonly called (ææ). In the Southern Scotch it is long, as in *fær̄r, yǣtt*, pǣth, *hǣ* = far, gate, path, have; stopped, as in *hært, mæn, kæn, æsch, wæsch, læss, bæst* = heart, men, ken, ash, wash, less, best. The Scotch writers commonly used *e* for this sound, writing *gerse, bern, hes, hed, hert, wesch, hesp, peth, heruyst*, etc; in this work, following the example of the Anglo-saxon, and other languages, as well as Mr. Ellis's system of Palaeotype, it is written *æ*, and so distingushed from the English *e* in *men, met, yet*, already considered. In most of the other Scottish dialects this sound is replaced by the "low front" vowel without the widening, (ɛ), the sound also given in the North of England to *e* in *met, men*. Thus, in the centre of Scotland, the words *far, gate, path, have, heart, men, ken, ash, wash, hasp, better, best*, would be pronounced (fɛɛr, jɛɛt, pɛɛth, hɛɛ, hɛrt, mɛn, kɛn, ɛsh, wɛsh, hɛsp, bɛter, bɛst), with the French and Italian open *è* in *aperto, bête, mère*; German *mähre*. Using the narrower sound, the central Scots consider the pronunciation of the Borderers very 'braid,' and reproach them with calling Pen-chrise-pen (a hill in Teviotdale) *Pan-chrise-pan*, whereas they really say *Pæn-chrise-pæn*.

7. "Low Back Wide" (Pal. *a*). The Scotch *a*, long in *faa, waar, laand,* short in *màn, wàd,* and well illustrated in the line—

A màn's a màn for a' thàt
(ə mɑnz ə mɑn for *aa* dhɑt)

varies considerably in different dialects, and even in different individual speakers of the same dialect. Upon the whole, the value here given, which is that of the German *a* in *mahnen, man,* may be considered as the average one, although it is not uncommon to hear it narrowed into the "mid back wide," the English vowel in *father,* the French in *matte, canne,* the Italian in *mano, gatto.* Still more common is the tendency, known also in South Germany, and especially in Austria, to *labialize* the sound, and pronounce it as the "low mixed round" or "low mixed wide round" (*a*h, ɔh) sounds so near to the English *aw, o,* in *law, lawn, lot* (lɑɑ, lɑɑn, lɔt) that Englishmen rarely distinguish between them, and therefore accuse the Scotch of saying *cawnie maun,* or *connie mon,* for *cannie man.* In reality, the Scotch *a,* when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney *pass, ask, demand* (pahs, *aa*hsk, dema*a*hnd), and I have heard a London broker pronounce *demand drafts* with an *a,* which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North. As a rule the broader or labialized sound will be heard when the vowel is long, as in *glaar, baand, waa* (gla*a*r, b*aa*nd, w*aa*) or (gla*a*hr, b*aa*hnd, w*aa*h), the narrower in a closed syllable, as *màn, hàt, wànt* (man, hat, want) or (man, hat, want), less frequently (mahn, haht, wahnt).

It is notable that the Anglo-Saxon used both á and ǽ (in different dialects?) for its long *a,* thus: stán, sár, stǽn, sǽr. From the former, by a series of successive steps, comes the English *stone, sore,* from the latter, by a different series, the Scotch *steane, sair.* The long open *a* seems to have demanded too wide an opening of the mouth for the northern nations, and consequently the original *stán* (st*aa*n) became, on the one side, labialized into *stoan,* on the other, palatalized into *stǽn.* By a further narrowing of the sound we have the English *stone,* the Scotch *stane.* In some of the Scottish dialects we have *steane,* and even *steen*; and in the English we are not without indications that the slide is still progressing, and that the London and Kentish *stown* will at length end in *stoon,* just as the Anglo-Saxon *stól, dóm, bóc,* Old English *stole, dome, boke,* are the modern English *stool, doom, book.* When the process is complete we shall have the curious phenomenon of a sound starting as the openest possible (*aa*), and ending as the closest possible *ee, oo.* The other Teutonic tongues have mostly, like the Scotch, followed the series of front vowels, German *stein,* Dutch *steen,* Swedish *sten,* etc.

8. "Mid Back" (Pal. ɤ). The Scotch vowel *u* in *gun* is an opener or more 'back' vowel than the corresponding (South) English sound, variously identified as (ə, ɐ). The Scotch sound

is indeed often pronounced still opener, as the "low back" (œ), and this is probably the older sound of the two. This vowel presents many points of connection with No. 5, the corresponding "front vowel," like which it is never lengthened, but before *r* increases the trill of that consonant, as *burr, furr*. As already remarked, it takes the place of that vowel in the central districts of Scotland, as *mulk, hull*, for *mylk, hyll*, and after *w*, as *wut* for *wit*. In the north-east the two vowels are curiously confused, as "he gyan's *tull*'s *myther*," for *till* his *mother*; "*hum* an' his twaa *syns*," him and his two sons. We have this only as a stopped vowel.

9. "Mid Back Wide Round" (Pal. o). The French *o* in *mot, bonne*, Italian *o aperto* in *coda, amò*, English *o* in *glory*, according to the most approved pronunciation, as distinguished, on the one hand, from *glow-ry*, on the other from *glaw-ry*, both of which are also current. This *o*, common also in provincial English, as *hoam* (HOOM), for *home*, is the 'wide' of the long English *o* in *bone, no*. It is also a uniform simple sound, and not a diphthong or quasi-diphthong, like the *o* of the South of England, which begins with *o*, but tapers off into *oo*, thus nō>OO, rō>OOd (Pal. n*o*ou, r*o*oud), while the Scotch sound is nō–ō, rō–ōd (noo, rood). Compare what is said of *ai*, No. 4. If the English vowel be pronounced pure without the terminal o͝o, into which it glides, it will be nearly the Scotch *o*, the difference between the "mid back round" (*o*) and "mid back wide round" (o) not being great. This vowel occurs long in *noa, doar, loard. God* is also pronounced in the same way, *Goad* (noo, door, loord, good); short, but unchanged in quality, in *lot, doll, scon*, which must be carefully distinguished alike from the long *lōte, dōle, scōne*, and the English *lot, doll, sconn*, where the *o* represents, not the short quantity of long *o*, which English has not, but the short 'wide' sound of *au* or *aw* in *laud, law*. As a series of such sounds we may compare the English *naught, not, note*, and the Scotch *not* and *nuote* (NAAt, nɔt, n*o*ot n*oo*ŭt, not, n*o*t nú*ə*t.

10. "High Back Mid Round" gliding into "Mid Back" (Pal. *uə*). This vowel bears precisely the same relation to *oo* (u) and *o* that *ea* does to *ee* (i) and *ai*. When pronounced leisurely the main element will be heard to be the same as the English 'wide' *oo* (*u*) in *book, poor*, but this sound opens and glides toward the *u* in *gun*. When rapidly pronounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and we seem to hear only a very close *o*, almost falling into *oo*, and nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian *o chiuso*, representing a short Latin *u*, as *dolce, rompe, somma*. Etymologically the Scotch sound is an *o* on its passage to *oo*, and it serves to distinguish pairs of words, some of which are confounded in English.

boar.	buore, to bore.	foar, for.	fuore, fore.
sole, only.	suole, sole of a shoe.	roam.	Ruome, or Room, Rome.

In the north of England, and also in Wessex, this sound regularly developes into *wo*; as Cumberland *Jwohn, lword, mwor-*

nin, rwose, cworn, bworn; Dorset *bwoth, bwoil, spwoil, pwoint,* from which it would appear that the second element is the one on which the voice dwells, whereas in the Teviotdale *Juohn, luord, muornin, cuorn, buorn,* etc., it is the first. When initial, however, or preceded by *h*, as in the kindred case of *eä*, the Scotch sound developes into wu or hwu = whu, thus :—

uörtchet,	wurtshet	=	orchard.	orpie leif,	wurɹiə-leif	=	orpine.
huöle,	hwull	„	hole.	huörn,	hwurn	„	horn.
huone,	hwun	„	honestone.	uöpen,	wuppen	„	open.
huope,	hwup	„	hope.	unrèst,	wunrest	„	unrest.

With this we may compare the development of the English *one* into its modern pronunciation *wun* (for uöne), like the provincial *wuts* for *oats,* (uötes). So in Scotland *oor,* our, often becomes *wor, wur, wer,* and conversely *week* often becomes *ouk, i.e.* ook. (See further, under W.) Though a diphthong, or quasi-diphthong, this is always treated as a simple sound, just as the English *o* in *home,* which begins in *o* and glides into *oo* in the south, is treated as a simple vowel. It is long in *dūose, būore, fruo* froth, stopped in *buot, cuot, suod,* English boat, coat, sod. When subject to development into *wu* it is here written uö, huö, as huöle (ʜúəl or ʜwəl).

11. "High Back Round" (Pal. u), English oo in *moon,* French ou long in *róute,* short in *doute,* Italian *uno,* German *huhn, blut, gut.* This vowel, when stopped in English, becomes (*u*), as in book, bull, full. In Scotch, as in French and North English, it remains unchanged in quality when stopped; doot (Fr. doute), bool (Fr. boule), making true pairs with *door* stubborn, *booze* to bouze. The Scotch words derived from French thus retain the true sound of the French *ou.* Before a consonant this vowel also represents the Anglo-Saxon ú, which, in English, has developed into ou or ow, as *toon, oot, doon, schoor*; Anglo-Saxon tún, út, dún, scúr; English town, out, down, shower. In most of the Scotch dialects the Anglo-Saxon sound is also retained when final; but in the Southern Counties' dialect it has, when final, become *uw* (ɐu); thus, Ags. cú, Scotch dialects generally *coo,* S. Coun. *cuw,* Eng. *cow.* So the Central Scotch *soo, doo, hoo, yoo, foo, noo,* are in the South, suw, duw, huw, yuw, fuw, nuw; *duel, cruel, gruel,* in Southern Counties, duwel, cruwel, gruwel. This change is exactly parallel to the substitution of *ey,* for *ee,* noticed under No. 1; in both cases the Southern Scotch sound is about half way between the original Ags. and Fr. í, ú, and their modern English representatives ī and ow.

12. The "Mid front round" vowel (Pal. *ə*), which, following the usual spelling, is here represented by *ui,* has very different values in different Scottish dialects, ranging almost from the French *eu* in peu to the German provincial ü in übel, and the English ee in Dee; a common form in the north being also the "high mixed wide," identified by Mr. Ellis with the Welsh u, and almost the Slavonic y. Thus Aberdeenshire muin, ruit, tuip,

are (*myn, ryt, typ*), that is, nearly *mïn, rït, tïp*; *puïr, dui*, are undistinguishable from *peer, dee*. The Southern Counties' *ui* is one of the openest, being equal to the French *eu* in *peu*, nearly the German ö in *löcke*. It is long in *dui, puïr, bruise*, stopped in *buit, cuit, fuil, duin*. This vowel seems to be eminently a restless and unsettled one, and in almost all languages gradually gravitates to rest in ēē. Thus the Greek *υ*, Latin *y*, and Anglo-Saxon *y* have long ceased to be distinguished from i (= ēē), and in German eebel for übel, like English evil for Anglo-Saxon yfel, is quite common.

II. DIPHTHONGS.

By diphthongs are here meant combinations of vowel *sounds*, which may or may not be expressed by combinations of vowel *letters*.

The Scotch dialects are peculiarly rich in diphthongs. In the Southern Counties' dialect almost every simple vowel combines with *ee* and *oo*, so as to form a diphthong of the *y* series, and another of the *w* series. There are in fact five of each series, or ten in all. This contrasts with the literary English, in which the only recognized diphthongs of the *y* series are *ī, oi*, in *fine, eider, cry, boy, boil* (fəin, əid·ɪ, krəi, bɔi, bɔil), and the only ones of the *w* series *ow*, in *vow, out* (vəu, əut), and *ew*, which latter has in the Standard English lost its original character of (*iu*) and developed into *yoo*, just as the Scotch and north English *eä* (*iə*) developes into *yeh*.

In the English diphthongs *ī, oi, ow*, the first element seems long; at least, in comparison with the Scotch diphthongs, where the first element may almost be said to be *stopped* by the following. This is a difference which, apart altogether from the difference of vowels, distinguishes the Scotch diphthongs generally from the English. In the English diphthongs of the *y series* also the second element seems to be the *i* in *it* (*i*) rather than *ee* (i). This may, however, only be owing to the indistinctness of the second element. In the diphthongs of the Scottish Southern Counties' dialect, however, the second element is very distinctly *ee*, and is less overshadowed by the preponderance of the first element than in English. But in the central Scottish dialects the second element is a much opener sound, apparently *ae, ay*, or even the simple voice glide. Thus *ay*, in Teviotdale *æ̆-ĭĕ* or *æ̆-ĕĕ* becomes *æ̆-ăɪ, æ-ĕh*, or almost *æ'*;[1] *by*, Tev. *bà-ĕĕ* becomes *baa-ăɪ*,

[1] It is in dialects where *ay* is reduced to *æ'*, and where *one* is *ae* (*ee* or *ii*) not *eäe, yeh*, as in the south, that the following dialogue, intended at once to show the brevity of Scotch words, and laconism of Scotch manners 'tells' best:—Old woman entering woollendraper's shop, and seizing between finger and thumb a piece of cloth, to which she administers a vigorous pinch, *loquitur*, "*Oo?*" *Salesman*, "*Æ'*, *'oo!*" *Customer* (gives cloth a stretch), "*Aa 'oo?*" *Sales-*

baa-eh, or almost *baa'*; *fire*, Tev. *fai-yer*, becomes feh-air, or almost feh-er, feh'r. This widening and final evanescence of the second element is particularly marked in the Yorkshire dialects, where *lītle*, *bīzen*, *shīve*, become simply *lāh'tle*, *bāh'zen*, *shāh've*; *about*, *now*, *down*, *abaah't*, *naah'*, *daah'n*. The words *I* and *my* (*ai*, m*ai*), contracted in most parts of Scotland to (a, ma), illustrate the same tendency.

The following are the diphthongs in the Southern Scotch :—

Formed from.	*Diphth. of* y *series.*	*Diphth. of* w *series.*		*Illustrations.*
ui				
ee or i		euw		feuw, beuwtie
ea				
ai	aiy		chaiyer	
y	ey		mey, beyte	
æ	æy	æw	æy	mæw
a	ȳ	auw	fȳve, bye	pauwper
u		uw		yuw, huwt
o				
uo	oy	ow	Ròy, boyl	lowe, bowl
oo				

The Y *series.*

1. *aiy* (Pal. *ei*). This diphthong is = aí-e͡e, and comes very near to the pronunciation of *lay*, *Main*, in the South of England, *lāee*, *māeen*, from which it differs chiefly in the greater distinctness of the second element, and abbreviation of the first. It occurs final in *aiy* always, *claiy* clay, *haiy* hay, *gaiy* considerably, *Maiy*, the month and female name, *staiy* stay, *quhaiy* whey, which, in other Scottish dialects, are pronounced with *ey*; cley, hey; or *uy*, cluy, huy, etc. In the dialect of the Southern Counties this is also sounded instead of the next diphthong before all the voice consonants, liquids, and nasals; thus *weyde*, *deyve*, *meyle*, *feyne*, are pronounced *waiyde*, *daiyve*, *maiyle*, *faiyne* (weid, deiv, meil, fein). This is especially marked before *r*, which, besides, forms a syllable of itself; thus, *feyre*, *teyre*, *heyre*, *cheyre*, i.e. *chair*, are pronounced *faiyer*, *haiyer*, *taiyer*, *chaiyer* (feiər, heiər, teiər, tsheiər). I am not sure indeed whether we ought not to consider the Southern Counties' pronunciation of *i* before a breath consonant, *e.g.* in *white*, *pipe*, *nice*, as theoretically *aiy* (*ei*) rather than *ey* (ei). Practically, the sound is so short that it is almost impossible to catch the difference between (peip) and (peip). Unless when comparing one dialect with another it will be safe enough to write *weyde*, *meyne*, *feyre*, *peype*, for all the shades of the medial vowel; but when final we must in

man, "Æ', *aa* 'oo!" *Customer* (drawing out a length of the fabric, with a searching glance), "Aa *ae* 'oo?" *Salesman*, "Æ', *aa ae 'oo*!" (Pal. ææ', *aa ee* uu.) Translation: "Wool?" "Ay, wool!" "*All* wool?" "Ay, *all* wool!" "All *one* wool?" (*i.e.* of one fleece) "Ay, all one wool!"

this dialect write *Maiy* or *Maye, haiy* or *haye,* for *May, hay,* etc.' to distinguish them from *mey, hey,* i.e. *me, he.*

2. *ey* (Pal. ei). Composed of the *y* in hyll, or *e* in yet, and *ĕĕ*. As a rule it represents the long English *ī* before a consonant, *e.g. pipe, fire, time, mine*; Scotch *peype, feyre, teyme, meyne*; and in some dialects final *ay*, as *clay, hay, way,* Lothian *cley, hey, wey.* In the dialect of the Border counties it is used as the substitute of the final long *ee, ē,* in English and other Scottish dialects; thus the English *see, me, he, we, pea, bee, free,* etc., and the central Scottish *dee, flee, lee, thee,* i.e. *die, fly, lie, thigh,* are in Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Dumfries-shires, *sey, mey, hey, wey, pey, bey, frey, dey, fley, ley, they.* This is exemplified in the characteristic sentence. "*Yuw* an' *mey* 'll gàng *ōwre* the deyke an' *puw* a *pey*," which in central Scotch is "*Yoo* an' *mee*' ll gyang *uwr* the duyke an' *poo* a pee." As pronounced in the south *ey* is (ei), but as we advance north the first element seems to become the "mid back" *u*, especially before voice consonants, liquids and nasals, so *weyves, meyle, beyde* become *wuyves, muyle, buyde* (wəivz, məil, bəid). We may say therefore that the central Scottish *ee* answers to the southern *ey*, and the central *ey* to the southern *aiy*, when final; before a consonant the central *ey* inclines to uy, the southern to aiy. So *Teviotdale* a gaiy waiyde sey, *Lothian* a gey wuyde see, *a pretty wide sea*; *Teviotdale* naiyne dey'd i' Maiy, *Lothian* nuyne dee'd ae Mey, *nine died in May.* The most accurate analysis would probably be as follows:—

Lothian	see,	dee,	hey,	buyte,	buyde	wuyne.
Teviotdale	sey,	dey,	haiy,	baiyte,	baiyde,	waiyne.
for the English	see,	die,	hay,	bite,	bide,	wine.

which, however, may be written—

Lothian	see,	dee,	hey,	beyte,	beyde,	weyne.
Teviotdale	sey,	dey,	haiy,	beyte,	beyde,	weyne.

In the use of these two diphthongs, and a kindred usage with regard to *oo, uw, ōw*, with the distinction between *ea* and *ai, uo* and *o*, lie the chief differences between the Southern Counties' Scotch—"the language of yuw and mey"—and that of central Scotland.

3. The diphthong *æy* (Pal. æi) = *ǽ-ĕĕ*, and closely akin to a common Cockney pronunciation of *I, mine,* is heard in *æyĕ*, yes, also in the combined words *hæ-ye, mæ-ye, gæ-ye, fræ-ye* (hæi, mæi, gæi, fræi), have you, may you, gave you, from you, which are pronounced as monosyllables. Otherwise it is rare, and confined to the guttural combinations *æycht, fæycht, pæych*, eight, fight, Pech or Pict. In central Scotland, however, this diphthong, or rather *æ-ai, æ'*, is used for *ey* before *r*, as *fæ-air* or *fæ'r* for *feyre*, fire.

4. *ȳ* (Pal. *ai*). Composed of *aá-ĕĕ* = the German *ai, ay*, in Kaiser, May, nearly as in the Italian *daino, laido*; French *païen, faïence*; English *ai* in Isaiah, Shang-haï; though sometimes labial-

ized in the first element (ɔhi), and then confounded by Englishmen with their *oi*, just as they confound a labialized pronunciation of *man* with *mon*. It is used as the equivalent of English final *y* in many words, as crye, frye, drye, w'rye, applye. It occurs medial in *syze, fyve*, five, now used for the older *feyfe*, which is nearly obsolete. So also in *trȳal, dȳal, denȳal, dȳemont, i.e.* diamond, *trȳkle*, treacle (Old Eng. *tryakle*), *lȳon*, and such words. It is not originally found other than at the end of a syllable; but in a Scotch pronunciation of English is commonly put for the English long ī, to which it is the nearest Scotch sound. Thus, in country schools, *tȳme, gȳle, pȳpe* (taim, gail, paip), will be heard instead of the vernacular *teyme, geyle, peype*, the readers fancying that they pronounce the English *time, guile, pipe* (təim, gəil, pəip). Others, who have learned that this is "too broad," give *tæyme. gæyle, pæype*, the next closer diphthong. This diphthong may be conveniently written ye or ȳ instead of the analytical form aaÿ, when to do so will lead to no ambiguity, thus fȳve, lȳon, lye.

5. The diphthong *oy* (Pal. oi) = ɑ́a-ēē, differs from the English *oy, oi*, in that the first element in the latter is the *aw* in *law*, or *o* in *lot*, whereas, in Scotch, it is the *oa* in *road*, or even the close *uo* in *cuole*; as English, *boy* (bɔi); Scotch, *boa-y, buo-y*, and even *boo-y*, the latter of which has been shewn by Mr. Ellis to be the old English pronunciation. In the central and north-east districts of Scotland this diphthong, when medial, is pronounced exactly like No. 2 in the same dialects, *boil, point, quoit*, becoming *buyl, puynt, kuyte*, or *beyle, peynt, keyte*. So a *collier* is in Dalkeith called a *keyler*, i.e. *coiller* (compare *Rauf Coilȝear*), which rhymes with *teyler*, tailor. In Roxb. the two words are far apart, *cuollier* and *teallier*, with liquid *ll*, Old Sc. coilȝear, tailȝeour. This substitution of *ey, uy*, for *oy*, was all but universal in English a century ago. The borderers who laugh at the *peynts* and *jeynings* of their northern neighbours, pride themselves upon their well-rounded *oy*, although a false etymology confounds one word, *beyle, i.e.* a boil, with *beyle*, bile.

The W *series.*

1. The diphthong *ȯw, owe* (Pal. ou) differs but little from the long *o* in *no, road*, as pronounced in the south of England, nóoo, rōood, the terminal *oo* being more distinct. In the Southern Scottish dialect it occurs final in *howe*, a hollow, *knowe*, a knoll, *growe, yowe*, a ewe, etc., which, in the other Scottish dialects, have the next diphthong, *huw, knuw, yuw*. So also it is used in this dialect for the *uw* of the other Scots before a voice consonant, liquid or nasal, especially *l* and *r*, as *buwl, gluwr, fuwr*; Teviotdale *bowle, glowre, fowre*. Compare the similar dialectical relations of *aiy* and *ey*.

2. The diphthong *uw* (Pal. ɯu) has as its first element the

Scotch *u* in *dull*, and thus differs from the English, the analysis of which is (əu), or, according to Mr. Melville Bell, (au). In the Southern Counties' dialect it occurs medial, as in *huwt!* tut! and final, as in *yuw* you, *cuw* cow, *duw* dove, *suw* sow, *thruw* through, *buw*, to bend, which in other Scottish dialects are *yoo*, *coo*, *doo*, *soo*, *throo*, *boo*, etc. As already stated, the Southern Counties' *bowe*, a bow to shoot with, *lowe* a flame, *rowe* to roll, *powe* a poll, *howe*, *growe*, etc., are elsewhere *buw*, *luw*, *ruw*, *puw*, *huw*, *gruw*. So that the Lothian *boo* is in Teviotdale *buw*, the Lothian *buw* in Teviotdale *bowe*. *Roxb.* Huwt man! Caa yuw the cuw owre the bruw o' the knowe, quhair yee sey the gærss growe. Fowre bowles fuw o' neuw mylk thræ the cuw. *Lothian.* Hoot man! Caa yoo the coo uwr the broo ae the knuw, whar yee see the gyrse gruw. Fuwr buwls foo ae nyoo mylk fae the coo. The Southern Counties' distinction between *buw*, to bend, and *bowe*, to shoot with, is exactly that of Sir T. Smith, in 1568 (as quoted by Mr. Ellis), "Early English Pronunciation," Part I., p. 151, who gives "bow, *βοὺ*, flectere, *βωῦ*, arcus, a bowle, *βωῦλ* vas in quo lac servatur."

3. The diphthong *auw* (Pal. *au—aau*) is like the Italian *au* in *aura*. It occurs in *sauwl* or *sȯwl*, soul (Ags. sawul), *auwlt*, and in Latin and Greek derivatives, like auwdience, aŭwditor, tauwtologie, pauwper, this being the Scotch pronunciation of *audio*, *ταῦτα*. It is also heard in combination with the guttural in the Southern Counties' pronunciation of *lauwch*, *sauwch*, where the northern Scots say *laach*, *saach*.

4. The diphthong *æw* (Pal. æu) = *é-o͝o*, occurs in to *mæw*, like a cat, to *wæw*, like a kitten. The mew of the cat is very variously imitated in different dialects; in Aberdeenshire the sound is held to be mee-ów or mi-úw (miə́ŭ), French *miauler*.

5. The diphthong *ew* occurs very frequently, representing the Ags. *eaw* in feawa, deaw; *iw* in hiw; *eow* in hreow, greow. Many shades of difference prevail in its pronunciation, thus, éé-oo, í-oo, éa-oo, úi-oo, ái-oo (Pal. iu, *iu*, *i*'u, əu, *eu*). I choose *euw* as the most convenient general symbolization, though I have usually heard *uiw*, *i.e.* vowel No. 12, followed by *oo* in the south of Scotland. It very seldom occurs before a consonant, in which position the simple *ui* is its representative, thus, *luit*, *fruit*, *duik*, *cuik*; *lute*, *fruit*, *duke*, *cook* (Fr. lûte, flûte, duc). So in the English of the 16th century the French *u* was the regular sound of the long English *u*, whence the modern sound *you* has been developed by a process which must have been like dû, dû'*w*, dû-oo, dï-oo, dioo, dyoo. The southern Scottish diphthong represents an early stage of the transition, while the original sound remains pretty nearly in *duik*, *tuin*. In the Lothian dialect this diphthong has become like the English *ew* = yoo, or after *r oo*, as *nyoo*, *fyoo*, *lyooch*, *roo*, *rool*; Tev. *neuw*, *feuw*, *leuwch*, *reuw*, *reuwle* (nəu, fəu, lə*kw*h, rəu, rəul), *i.e.* new, few, laughed, rue, rule.

III. CONSONANTS.

SCH, QUH, CH, H, AND R.

The consonants are used with their recognized English powers. But SCH and QUH represent Sh and Wh. The former is merely a point of taste, recommended by the old Scotch orthography. The latter is something more: Wh has in most parts of England so degenerated as not to be distinguished from W, and the pairs *when wen, whale wail, while wile*, are pronounced in the south exactly alike, *teste* the Dean of Canterbury's "Queen's English." We require a spelling to show that the corresponding Scotch words must not be so treated. Moreover, the Scotch sound is originally, and as still pronounced in the Southern Counties by old people, a strongly aspirated one, being really a labialized guttural, the 'back-mixed' consonant of Visible Speech, represented by Mr. Ellis, in his Palaeotype, by (k*w*h). With many speakers, however, this strong pronunciation now falls into the 'lip-mixed' or true Wh.

CH has always been used for the guttural by the Scotch writers. It would have been more convenient to use *ch* for the sound in *church* only, and express the guttural by GH; but this would be dangerous, as *gh* is in English so commonly changed into *f*, into a diphthong, or lost altogether, that it is desirable to use some other constant symbol to represent to the eye the difference between the Scotch licht, eneuch, lauch, dowchter, and the English light, enough, laugh, daughter.

The guttural, which in most of the Scottish dialects is pronounced quite simple, as in German *ach! lacht, buch*, is, in the dialect of the Southern Counties, labialized or palatalized in accordance with the character of the preceding vowel, the vowel being at the same time made to glide into the modified guttural, so as almost to form with it a sort of diphthong. Thus, after *back* vowels, the guttural or 'back' consonant (kh) becomes the labialized guttural or 'back-mixed' (k*w*h), formed by a simultaneous utterance of *ch* and *w*, as in *quh* above. After *front* vowels the guttural becomes changed into the palatalized variety (kjh, *k*h), which may be approximately described as a strongly aspirated utterance of the initial sound in *human, Hugh*, being really a simultaneous utterance of *ch* and *y* consonant. The result is that the Southern Counties' pronunciation of *-ach, -och, -uch*, is something like that of the diphthongs *auw, ȯw, uw*, with a guttural aspiration given to the second element, while that of *-ich, -ech*, resembles the diphthongs *ey, æy*, with the last element aspirated instead of simply vocalized. Advantage may be taken of this likeness to symbolize the sounds by means of a preceding *w* or *y*, though it is of course to be borne in mind that owch, æych, are not ow+ch, æy+ch, but ow, æy *mixed with* ch (o k*w*h,

æ kjh). After the extreme lingual and labial sounds ee and oo, the guttural remains simple. The series will thus be :—

	eech	eych	æych	auwch	owch	uwch	euwch	eawch	ooch
Exam.	feech!	heych	æycht	lauwch	lowch	ruwch	leuwch	leawch	hooch!
Pal.	(fikh	ʜɛ*k*h	æ*k*ht	l*ɑkw*h	lok*w*h	rɑk*w*h	l*ɔkw*h	l*ii*'k*w*h or l*eekw*h	ʜukh)

which in central Scotland have the simple guttural :

	feech!	hych	aicht ehcht	laach	loch	ruch	leuch lyooch	laich	hooch!
Pal.	(fikh	ʜekh	*e*kht ɛkht	l*aa*kh	l*o*kh	rɑkh	l*iu*kh ljukh	l*ee*kh l*ii*kh	ʜukh!)
i.e.	faugh!	high	eight	laugh	loch	rough	laughed	low	ugh!

The words deawch, leawch = dough, low, are the only examples of *-eawch*. Elsewhere they are *daigh, laigh,* or *deagh, leagh.* The sound *-euwch* is in the other dialects sometimes -yooch, sometimes -yuch. *Leuwch* = laughed, Old Eng. lough, is in Edinburgh *lyooch,* but *teuwch* = tough is *tyuch,* almost *tshuch* (tʃɑkh, tjɑkh, tshɑkh). These compound gutturals, which form one of the peculiarities of this dialect, are also heard in Germany; the palatalized form being the sound in *nicht, recht,* as heard in North Germany (ni*k*ht, rɛ*k*ht), which, however, in some parts, as in Switzerland, is kept quite hard (n*y*kht, rɛkht), and in others, as on the Danube, sinks almost into *sh* (nisht, rɛsht). The labialized form is usually heard in *auch* (auk*w*h). Historically, they are interesting, as representing a stage of phonetic development, through which the English *gh* must have passed before becoming entirely vocalized, or advancing into *f,* as in eight, rough, Ags. eahta, rúh (e'khtɐ, rukh), the stages through which the former must have passed, being pure guttural, palatalized guttural, pure palatal or whispered *y,* vocal *y* making a diphthong with preceding *e* (e'kht, ekjht, eɔht, eɔt, *ee*'jt or *eeit*), the latter making successively the pure guttural, labialized guttural, gutturalized labial, pure labial, divided labial (rukh, ruk*w*h, ruwh, ruph, r*uf*, rəf). The dates at which these changes were made of course varied in different districts; for the standard or literary English Mr. Ellis (who has minutely investigated the question) has shewn that the guttural was still heard in *taught, night, fight,* etc., in the 16th century, that in the beginning of the 17th it had become *yh, wh,* and by the end of that century was "now by disuse lost among us" (E. E. P., p. 209–214). In Cursor Mundi we have *though* spelled as *thof* in the 13th or 14th century, but this was an exceptional word, for in the northern counties of England, the rejection of the guttural has taken place within living memory. (See antè, p. 87).

CH in chin. As the guttural never occurs initially no ambiguity can arise from using CH with the power of (tsh) at the beginning of words, as in cheild, chaamer, chairge. But in other positions this sound must be distinguished by writing *tch,* as is already done for orthographical reasons in many Ags. words, as

watch, ditch, wretched, potch, hutch, as well as in a few of French origin, as *butcher,* where the *t* is an expedient which must be extended to *rytch, beseitch, poatcher,* etc. Already the recognized Scotch *pootch,* English *pouch, Ritchie* for *Richard,* etc., show a recognition of the want of some means to keep these words distinct from the guttural which would be suggested by pooch, richie. Even *initially* we find *tch* in the writers of the 16th century. *tchyre* and *tcheir* (compare the modern *chaiyer, cheyre*), being used by Lyndesay (Satyre, 1942, 1953) for chair.

H is in Sc. very strongly pronounced, almost with somewhat of guttural effect, as seems to have been the case in Ags.: compare ȝenóh, eahta, burh, boht, with enou*ch,* ey*cht,* bru*ch,* bo*cht.* The abuse of *h,* by dropping it where it exists, and intercalating it where it has no existence, is unknown in Scotch. When *mute* it is totally dropped, as in *ostler, eirb, ayr* = herb, heir. It remains in *hyt* = it (Ags. hyt); and the O. Eng. *hus* = us appears as *huz,* the only word which has taken a prosthetic *h.*

R is in Scotch always a consonant, and in all positions trilled sharply with the point of the tongue, and never smoothly *buzzed* or burred, or converted into a mere glide as in English, nor *rolled* with the whole length of the tongue as in Irish, nor roughly *burred* with the pharynx as in Northumberland, in France and Germany. Even the initial English *r,* in *road, rung,* is softer and more gliding than the Scotch, which is used with equal sharpness before or after a vowel, as in *rare, roar, raythe*r, *roarer.* In the south of England its subsidence after a vowel into a mere glide renders it impossible to distinguish, in the utterance of some speakers, between *law, lore*; *lord, laud*; *gutta, gutter*; *Emma, hemmer.* Hence, when these words are used with a following vowel, a hiatus is avoided by saying draw-*r*-ing, Sarah-*r*-Anne, Maida-*r*-'ill, idea-*r* of things, law-*r* of England, phrases which even educated men are not ashamed, or not conscious, of uttering. No such liberties are allowable with the Scotch *r,* which is always truly consonantal.

Notes on the other Consonants.

B is usually dropped in pronunciation after M in the accented or any following syllable. As the *b* was in many cases of French or English insertion, the Scotch forms thus return nearer to the original Latin and Gothic. Lamb, dumb, limb, thumb, thimble, tremble, rumble, tumble, number, timber, chamber, clamber, Campbell, Dumbie-dykes, Cumber-trees, Turnbull (originally Trumbal, Trum-bald), are pronounced *làm, dum, lym, thoom* (Ags. þuma), *thymle, trymle* (Lat. tremulo), *rumle, tumle, noomer* or *nummer* (Lat. numerus), *tymmer* (Dutch timmer), *chaamer* (Lat. camera), *claamer, Caamle, Dummie-deyks, Cummer-treys, Trumle. Humble* is in Old and Middle Scotch *humyl, humile,* but the *b* now begins to be sounded, as it is in *member, November, December,* Scotch Dezember.

C in the Scotch writers = either K or S, as in *caice*, case. It must in this dialect be considered as = *s* before *æ*, unless we follow the example of the writers of the Middle period, who substituted *s*, in such cases as *dissayve*, *ressayve*, *consait* = deceive, receive, conceit. Before *ea*, which in this dialect replaces *a*, it must be written *k*, as in *keave*, *keane*, *keace*, *skeale*, *skeame* = cave, cane, case, scale, scheme, which is only an extension of what has already been done in *kaim*, *kail*, *Kate*, *kirk*, *Kirsty*, *kae*, *kye*, *kirn*, *kist*, *skuil*, for *comb*, *cole*, *Catherine*, *church*, *Christy*, *caw*, Ags. cý, plural of cú, *churn*, *chest* or *cist*, *school*, and is exemplified in the English *kitchen*, as compared with *cook* and *cocina*.

D is dropped after *n* in the Scottish dialects generally. In the Southern Counties it is usually preserved, except between *n* and *l*, as in handle, candle, spindle, trundle, foundling, pronounced *hànle*, *cànle*, *spynnle*, *trynnle*, *funlin*. In *bundle* the *d* is heard. It is also dropped in *thunner*, *gayner* = thunder, gander; in *an'* = and; and one or two verbal forms, *ban'*, *bun'*, *gran'*, *grun'*, *wan'*, *wun'*, meaning bound, ground, wound, past tense, and past participle. It is also mute in the termination of the present participle, eitand, syngand, standand, pronounced *eitan*, *syngan*, *stànnan*. Except the participles *aand*, owing, and *wulland* or *wullant*, willing, with one or two which are only used adjectively, *ythand* or *eydant*, persevering, and *farrand* or *farrant*, favouring, savouring, seeming (*aald-farrant*, savouring of age). Otherwise *d* is pronounced; as in *aald*, *caald*, *laand*, *staand*, *Hielands* or *Hielants*.

There has been a confusion between *d* and the *voiced th* (dh), as in *th*en from an early period, traces of which still survive in the English *murder murther*, *burden burthen*, *wedder wether*, *Bethlehem Bedlam*. In the Early and Middle Scotch *d* or *dd* was always writen before *r*, as fadir, modyr, brodyr, gader, togiddyr, fedder, hidir, furder, weddir, uddir, the *d* being pronounced I believe, neither as in *d*are nor in *th*ere, but with an intermediate sound, the front or dental *d* (formed by touching the teeth with the tip of the tongue), still used in the same words in the northern English counties (where it is sometimes written *dth*, as *fadther*), and a familiar sound in southern and oriental languages. In the modern dialect of the Southern Counties this *d* has become *th*, as in English: *faither*, *muther*, *bruther*, *gæther*, *thegether*, etc. The *th* even extends to several words which in English retain *dd*, viz. *adder*, *bladder*, *ladder*, *peddar* or *pedlar*, *fodder*, *udder*, which are *æther*, *blæther*, *læther*[1] (and thus confounded with *leather*), *pæther*, *fòther*, *uther*. In a few words the change is not complete; *bòther*, *fathom*, *worthy*, are often *bòdder*, *fadom*, *wurdie*, while *shoulder*, *powder*, *pewter*, *solder*, generally *shoodder*, *poodder*, *puidder*, *sòwder*, are sometimes *shoother*, *poother*, *puither*, *sòwther* or *saather*. The proper names *Bedrule* (a parish in Roxb.) and

[1] As illustrating the wide diffusion of such forms, we find in Barnes's Dorset Grammar (p. 16) that, in that dialect, *ladder* and *bladder* are laðer, blaðer, just as in Scotland.

Stoddart, are often *Bæthrool* and *Stothart*, while *Mather* is often *Mayder*, and *southernwood* generally *sudron-wud*.

F of the Old Scotch, still retained in the more northern dialects, is in the south often *v*; not only in plurals, as *weyves thieves*, for wyffis, theiffis, but in some singulars, as *neive*, *caave*, for neif, calf or chaff, and sometimes *staave*, *scheive*, for staff, sheaf. *Grave* is *graaf* (older) and *greave*. Compare English love, reeve, glove, with Ags. lufu, refa, glofa.

G, having often its hard sound before *e* and *i*, as geape, geir, geade, gie, gytt, the soft sound should be expressed by J initially, as in the old jebat, jeroflouris, jimp, for gibbet, gillieflowers, gimp. In Scotch the *g* often remains hard when it has become soft in English, as in *bryg*, *ryg*, *sægg* = bridge, ridge, sedge; *gyrn* = gin.

K is still pronounced before N by old people, as k'neyfe, k'nowe, k'neycht; but the habit of suppressing it in the English taught at school has led the rising generation to drop it also in the vernacular. In the north-east of Scotland it remains in regular use.

K or hard C of the Anglo-Saxon is, as is well-known, preserved in the northern dialect, where the southern has developed the palatalized form of CH. Thus we have *kyrk*, *kyrn*, *cairl*, *kyst*, *kaisart*, *caak*, *kink-cough*, *byrk*, *theik*, *thàk*, *puock*, *steik*, *pyck*, *streik*, *nyck*, *breiks*, *stynk*, *beseik*, *larick*, *raaks*, *ylk*, *quhylk*, *syc*, *gowd-spink*, corresponding to the English *church*, *churn*, *churl*, *chest*, *chizzard*, *chalk*, *chincough*, *birch*, *thatch*, *pouch*, *stitch*, *pitch*, *stretch*, *niche* or *notch*, *breeches*, *stench*, *beseech*, *larch*, *reach*, *each*, *which*, *such*, *gold-finch*. Similarly, SK is in a few words used for SH, as in *skyrl*, *skrynk*, *skelf*, *skleff*, *scunner*, *skreych*, *skreik*, *skældreake*, *skayr* = shrill, shrink, shelf, Germ. *schleif* flat, shun, shriek, sheldrake, share; and SKL often occurs initially for SL, as in *sklate*, *sklender*, *sklander*, *sclye*, *sklidders*, *sklænt*, *skleyce*, English slate, slender, slander, slide, sliders, slant, slice. In the older writers we find also *sklave* = *slave*.

L is very variously treated in Scotch. After *a* it is usually elided, not only before K and M, as in *stalk*, *balm*, but also when final, or before other consonants, as *all*, *fall*, *alum*, *alms*, *malt*, *fault*, *salt*, *halse*, *als*, pronounced aa, faa, aam, aamus, maat, faat, saat, haass, aass. So with the guttural *sauwch*, *fauwch*, *tauwch* = English sallow, fallow, tallow. This pronunciation is found at the beginning of the 16th century.

Sum man musand with the wa,
Luikis as he mycht nocht do with à.
Dunbar—Of Solicitors at Court.

And haistelie, or euer ȝe knaw,
ȝe sal be plagit, ane and aw.
Lauder—Office, 204.

Compare—

Defy the warld, fenȝeit and fals,
With gall in hart, and hunyit hals:
Off quhais subchettis sour is the sals—
Dunbar—Of Content.

where the rhyme *sals* = sauce, gives also *faass* and *haass*. So regular was this elision of *l* after *a*, with lengthening of the vowel, that the combination *al* became a mere orthoepic device to express the long and broad *a*; and an intrusive *l* is thus found in words where it has no etymological *raison d'être*, as *walter, chalmer, bald, awalk, walkin* = water, chamber, bad, awake, waken.

> Hay now the day dallis (= daws!),
> Hay Christ on us callis!

The spelling *chalmer* is a history in itself; shewing, first, that when the French *chambre* was introduced, it was naturalized by dropping the *b*, as has been pointed out under that letter; secondly, that to indicate the length of the vowel the Scotch intrusive *l* was inserted. Now for the sound:

> And than scho passit vnto hir Chalmer
> And fand hir madinnis, sweit as Lammer—
> Sleipand full sound.
>
> *Lyndesay*—Sq. Meldrum, 1007.

Lammer = *l'ambre*, having also become Scotticised. The two forms of the family name Chambers and Chalmers are alike pronounced *Chaamers* in Scotch.

When the spelling was *aul*, corresponding to English *ol*, the *l* is sounded, as in *auld, bauld, cauld, sauld, hauld* (noun) pronounced *aald, baald*, etc. *Hauld* (verb) and *wald* = English *hold, would*, are *hàd, wàd*.

After *o*, L is also often dropped, making the diphthong *owe*: *powe, knowe, rowe, bowe, howe, cowt, yowk* = English poll, knoll, roll, boll, hollow, colt, yolk. So *folk* in some dialects *fouk*, in others *fuok*; soldier, *sodger, suodger*. Here also the *l* became a phonetic device in some words, as *nolt, neat*-cattle, oxen, *Ags.* nyten. In many words *l* is sounded after *o*, as bolt, doll.

L is also often suppressed after *u*, as wool, *'o͝o*, pulpit, *po͝opet*, bulk, *bo͝ok*, culm, *co͝om*, moult, *mo͝ot*, foulmarten, *fo͝omart*, suld = should, *sŭid* or *so͝od*, shoulder, *sho͝oder*, full, *foo*, S. Scotch *fuw*. The spellings *beaulte, pulder*, occur in Middle Scotch for *beauty, pooder* = powder.

After *e* and *i*, L is pronounced, the only exception occurring to me being *Melrose*, which is called by country folk *Meuross, Meuwress*. When followed by M the latter has a syllabic effect, as elm, helm, film; pron. *ell'm, hell'm, fill'm*, where the *m* is as syllabic as in *solemn, rhythm*, or Scotch *boddum*.[1]

Terminal -LE, -EL, -EN, used to be pronounced with a connecting vowel, as in sadyll, tabyll, bummill, abill, writtyn, eityn, but the *l* and *n* are now usually uttered without the vowel, as in English; saiddle, teable, bummle, eäble, w'rytt'n, eit'n.

[1] It is possible that this rolling of the L may be of Gaelic origin; in that language the combinations *lm, lb, lg, rm, rb, rg*, are pronounced as if with a short ŭ between them, thus, *alm, calm, sgealb, bàlg, àrm, òrm, earb*, make *alum, calum, skellubp, bpalugk, arrum, orrum, errubp*.

The liquid L and N of the Romance languages (Fr. mouillé, regne, Ital. egli, degni, Span. calle, ñoño, Portug. filho, minha), existed in the older Scottish, being represented by lȝ, nȝ. Thus bailȝe, artailȝie, capercailȝie, mylȝeoun, spulȝie, tailȝeour, coilȝear; fenȝeit, dedeinȝie, Spanȝe, cuinȝie, gaberlunȝie, etc., corresponding to the French *bailli, artiller, million, espouille, tailleur, feigne, dedaigne, Espagne, coigne.* In the modern dialects generally these sounds have become obsolete, and simple *l, n,* or *lie, nie,* are used instead, thus, baillie, caper-caillie, spuillie, teyler, keyler, Spain, cuinie. But in the Southern Counties the original sound is retained in many words, as bail-yea, tail-yer, cuol-yer, fever-fuill-yea. The ȝ having been erroneously represented by Z by the early printers, this letter is retained in many proper names, having originally the liquid *n* or *l,* as Menzies, Drummelzier, Mackenzie, Dalziel, Cockenzie, and is pronounced as a *z* by those who are ignorant of its origin; although natives say correctly Drummel-yer, Dal-yell, Cocken-yie or Cocken-nie, etc.

NG in the middle of a word always retains its simple final sound, as in *sing, long.* In English, on the contrary, it usually takes an additional *g* in pronunciation, as sing-gle, long-ger, fing-ger, hung-gry, young-gest, Eng-glish, which in Scotland and North England are syng-'l, lang-er, fyng-er, hung-rie, yung-est, Ing-lish. The Standard English has the simple sound in verbal derivatives, as sing-er, sing-est, sing-ing; in the North it is universal, the combination *ng-g* being utterly unknown. The Southern English seem fond of *ng-g* (compare the vulgar *any-thing-g* or *any-thingk*), and we sometimes hear *long-g, song-g, sing-ging.* So in Germany Wohnung is in some parts bhoh-noong, in others, *bhoh-noongk.* The Northern dialect has, doubtless, always had the same pronunciation. In the 16th century we find *Ang-us,* not *Ang-gus*:

> For his supporte tharefor he brocht amang us,
> Furth of Ingland, the nobyll Erle of Angus.
> *Lyndesay*—Tragedie, 132.

Comparing this with what has been said as to MB and ND, we may lay it down as a principle, that the Northern tongue has a repugnance to the combination of the nasals M, N, NG, with their cognate mutes, B, D, and G.

NG is in Scotch replaced by N before TH, as in *lenth, strenth,* spellings found in the Northern dialect since the 13th century. The termination *-ing* is also pronounced *-in* (in Southern Counties *-ein*), as *dealin', schyllin', mornin'.* This also is found at an early period in Scotch, thus:

> Þocht a man mycht nocht have space to ask mercy, þarfor suld he nocht dyspare, fore that ware mare *ekyne* (*i.e.* eking) of sorow to hyme.—*Craft of Deyng,* 90.
>
> Be this men suld leif all thair kyn
> And wyth thair Wyffis mak *dwellyn.*
> *Lyndesay*—Monarché, 779.

So we find *garden, children, Latin*, spelled *garding, childryng, Laiting*, pointing to the same pronunciation of *-ing* as *-in* or *-ein*, these words being now *gairdein, chyldrein, laitein.*

> In to that gardyng of plesance,
> Twa treis grew—mast tyll auance.
> *Ibid.*, 739.
>
> Beildingis, gardyngis, and plesant parkis.
> *Ibid.*, 1928.

In the older stages of the language *ng* was often written for Latin *gn*, thus, *sing, ryng, impung, propung, conding, maling, benyng, prengnant*, etc. Vestiges of this substitution of the nasal for the liquid *n* are still found in the spoken dialect, as in *condyng, benyng*, and the verb *ryng, rang, rung*, to *reign*, tyrannize.

> For weill he wut thar suld be bot *a* king
> Off this regioun at anys for to ryng.
> Blind Harry—*Wallace.*

As QUH is often found QWH, so QU is found written QW, as Qwyk, qwyt, qwene.

R, being truly consonantal, has not the same gliding effect before consonants as in English. This is especially noticeable before L, and less so before M and N. The combination RL is quite hard; thus such words as *curl, dirl, world, earl*, are pronounced cur'l, dyr'l, wor'lt, yer'l, just as cuddle, fiddle, waddle, are cud'l, fid'l, wad'l, in English. The L is as much a distinct syllable in *cur'l, dir'l*, as it is in *squirrel, barrel, coral.* In *arm, harm, worm, barn, turn*, the same semivocal transition is heard, though less distinctly; but in districts towards the Celtic frontier, *arm, harm, term, warm, worm*, are distinctly *airem, hairem, terem, warem, wurem.* The combination SHR is always pronounced with a slight vocal effect between, thus, *shrub, shrew* = shĕrúb, shĕreúw. Or the difficulty is got over by other means, as *shriek, shrill* = skreych, schyll.

The interchange between the forms R*S and *RS seen in comparing some English words with their Ags. originals, as gærs, *grass*, cors, *cross*, is largely represented in Modern Scotch. Thus:

Scotch.	*English.*	*Scotch.*	*English.*
birsses	bristles	girs'le	gristle
corse	cross	gyrdle	griddle
gærse	grass	gyrn	grin
Kirstie	Christy	fyrth	frith
kirs'n	christen	dyrl	thrill, drill
Kirs'nmas	Christmas	nostirl	nostril
wars'le (*Aberd.* vras'le)	wrestle		

and *per contra*

brod (Germ. brett)	board	w'rait (*Aberd.* vrat)	wart
brunt	burnt	thryd } antiq.	third
crub	curb	thretteen } antiq.	thirteen
gryth	girth	threttie } antiq.	thirty
crutchie	curtsey	Trumble	Turnbull

The same transpositions are seen, not only in comparing old

with modern English, but in comparing the different English dialects; thus in Devonshire we have *urn, urd, purty, gurt* = *run, red, pretty, great;* in Dorset *claps, crips, haps, waps, ax,* for *clasp, crisp, hasp, wasp, ask. Ax,* Ags. acsian, acsode, which is also the Scotch, is much more widely used than its corruption *ask,* used in the Standard English.

Prein (Ags. preon), thryssle, sprecklet = English pin, thistle, speckled.

S has the *hissing* or *buzzing* sound, generally as in the cognate English words, but plural nouns, which change the 'hiss' into the 'buzz' in English, retain the 'hiss' in Scotch. Thus English house, houses (HƏus, HƏuzyz), Scotch (HUS, husiz), as contrasted with the verb (HUUziz)—he *houses* his cattle. The terminational *s* in plural nouns and such words as *his, is, was, has,* has now the *z* sound, but so late as the 16th century had still the *hiss* or *s* sound, being often written *iss, haiss, wass,* and regularly rhyming with words which have still the *ss* sound.

My will and final sentence *is* (= iss)
Ilk ane of ȝow vthers *kiss.*

Of al thing sal be, and was,
As gud dissert, will, or trespass.

Richt dulefulliye doung down amang the *asse,*
Bot, as Dauid did slay the gret Golly*asse*
Or Holopharne be Judeth killit *wasse.*

In English also *wise* has the *z* sound; but in Scotch the *ss* sound, as in *nice, mice.* Compare—

Quhat is vertew and quhat is vyce,
And quha is fule, and quha is wyſ.
Ratis Raving, 2062.

An interchange between the sounds of S and SH is frequent. *Initially,* the SH is used for the S sound, in sew, cinders = *scheuw, schunders.* But in the 16th century we find also the forms *schir, scherve, schervice, pschalm, scherene* = sir, serve, service, psalm, syren. This was undoubtedly of Celtic origin; in Gaelic, *s* is always pronounced *sh* in connection with the 'small' vowels *e, i,* the very word *serve* being adopted in Gaelic as *seirbhis* = sherrevish.

This pronunciation of *s* as *sh* before *e* explains the abnormal derivation of the pronoun *she* from the Ags. feminine demonstrative *seó. Seó* on the Celtic frontier would, as a matter of course, become *scho,* a form which arose in the Northern dialect, and travelled south, till as *scheo, sche, she,* it was adopted also into the midland and southern dialects, displacing the original feminine pronoun *heo.* There is consequently no need to assume (as some writers do) a form *sco, sko,*[1] as the origin of *scho,* any more than we

[1] I mean a form pronounced *sko*; the spelling *sco* is of course found in *Cursor Mundi,* and in a late portion of the Saxon Chronicle of northern character (after 1100), where it seems to have been the orthographical device for the sound of *sh, sho* having already supplanted *seó.*

have a right to suppose forms like *skir, skervice, skew,* as the origin of the Scotch schir, schervice, shew = sew.

Medially, the words *vessel, vassal, officer, assiette, gusset,* and in some parts of Scotland *Alsander* = Alexander, *Jackson, Russell,* are pronounced veschel, vaschal, offischer (spellings found in the 15th and 16th centuries, so also *braschelets, courticians*), aschet, guischet; Elshander, Jackshon, Ruschel (compare Eng. *bushel* from O.Fr. boissel). A similar change of the *z* sound into that of zh or French J occurs in *Fraser, poison,* pronounced *Frazher, poyzhon,* though *puzzen* is also in use. In all these instances the Celtic influence is obvious.

Finally, the words farce, hoarse, hearse, hare-sel = hare-(lipped), scarce, grilse, mince, pincers, notice, rinse, cleanse, grease, are usually farsch (so spelled in 1554), hairsch, hearsch, hearschel, scairsch (so spelled in 16th c.), gylsch, mynsch, pynschers, notisch, reinge, clenge (so always spelled in Sc. writers), creisch (in old Acts of Parliament, *gresche*).

On the other hand, a southern *sh* is represented by a northern *s*, in *sal, suld* = *shall, should,* and Lyndesay gives us the spelling *cedull* for *schedule,* this being a recognized English pronunciation. In *sal,* singularly enough, the northern tongue agrees with the Germanic, the southern with the Scandinavian languages. Thus, German *soll, sollte,* Dutch *zou, zoude*; but Danish *skal, skulde.*

The same change of SK into S, instead of SH, is seen in the words *ash* or *ashes* (Ags. asce), *wish* (Ags. wiscian), *bush* (Ital. *bosco,* Fr. *bois*), and *busk*; in Sc. *ass, wuss, buss.*

> Think, man, thow art bot erd and ass,
> And as thow com, so sal thow pass.

So the old national names, *Scottis, Inglis, Frence, Dence, Wallys* = Scottish, English, French, Danish, Welsh, of which *Scots* alone now retains the simple *s* sound. *Erse* seems always to have had the *sh* sound on account of the preceding R: *Erisch, Irische, Ersch.*

S followed by *u,* which has in English become SH in *sugar, sure,* retains in Scotch the *s* sound, protected by the following *u* being either the French *eu,* or the *u* in dull, thus, *suggar, suir, suit.* With these may be classed the whole series of words ending in *-sure,* such as *leisure, measure, treasure, pleasure,* which retain in Scotch the simple *z* sound of *s, layser, mesur, træsur, pleisur.* Similarly in the terminations *-ture, -dure,* there is in the north no tendency to the pronunciation *-chure, -jure,* as in *nature, creature, picture, posture, verdure*; naytur, creatur, pyctur, postur, verdur, with hard T and D, as they were still pronounced in the English of the 17th century. In the 15th and 16th centuries we find the French verbs *nourisse, fleuriss, perisse,* etc., adopted with the French ending, as *nureiss, fleuriss, pereis.* Whatever the sound then was, it is now *sh* in all this class of words.

T is usually rejected between S and L, S and N, F and N, as in whistle, castle, thistle, wrestle, casten, moisten, soften, pro-

nounced *quhussle, cassle, thryssle, warsle, cuissen, moyssen.* Final T is always dropped after the other mutes, K and P, in such words as *direct, directed, director, exact, compact, act, fact, detract, deject, strict, defunct, apt, corrupt, corrupted, tempt, tempted, exempt, empty, Pict* or *Pecht,* which are pronounced direk, direkkit, direkkar, exack, compack, ack, fack, detrak, dejeck, strik, defunk; ap, corrup, corruppit, temp, tempit, exemp, empie, Pik, or Pech. (In the Standard English, on the contrary, it is the *p* which is mute in *-mpt,* thus *temt, exemt.*) In the middle of words, as in *Scripture, doctor, factor, rapture,* the *t* is sounded. This dropping of final *t* was common in the Middle Scotch, being often indicated by the spelling, as *direkkit, stupefak, corruppit*; at other times by the rhyme, as where *detractit* rhymes with *lakit, act* with *mak.* In other cases we find a *t* tacked on by false analogy, where it had never been pronounced, as in *taxt, campt, lact* = lack. To the habit of thus writing *t,* either where it was no longer sounded, or where it had never been so, and not to any peculiarity of pronunciation, must, I think, be referred the spelling *tht,* as in *moutht, witht, treutht, lentht, montht,* so common in the Middle period. That the combination was pronounced as a simple *th* appears alike from its rhyming with words so spelled, and from the fact that the spellings *mouth, moutht, zenyth, zenytht, with, witht,* are found promiscuously on the same page of early books and MSS. From the resemblance between *c* and *t* in many MSS., and the further fact that both combinations *cht* and *th* were indicated by the same contraction, thus, w^{t}, bay^{t}, bly^{t}, no^{t}, my^{t} = *with, bayth, blyth, nocht, mycht,* the two were often confused by copyists and early printers, giving such erroneous forms as *wycht, baycht, blycht, notht, myth, mytht,* for the above words. The "Complaynt of Scotlande," printed 1548, is full of such errata, as is also the edition of Lyndesay's Works, published in France, the error being one to which foreign printers or copyists would be especially liable. In "Ratis Raving," a volume of Scotch prose and verse, published by the E.E.T. Society, 1870, we also come continually upon such clerical errors, or erroneous expansions of contractions, as mou*cht,* bly*cht,* wor*cht,* for mout*h,* bly*th,* wort*h.* In some words the combination *cht* seems to have sunk into *ch,* and afterwards into a mere vowel, thus, *thocht, nocht* (adv.) are now thô and nô (thoo, noo), and *aucht* or *ocht,* in *quhea's aucht* it? is often (*aa,* oo) : *quhea's â 'd ?* (kwhii'z aad).

TH, as in English, represents two sounds, the breath sound as in *th*in, and the voice sound as in *th*en, written by orthoepists *dh.* The latter sound (dh) occurs initially only in the demonstrative *the* and second pers. pro. *thou,* and their derivatives, viz., *the, that, this, those, these, they, them, their, theirs, there, then, than, thence, thither, therefore, though*; *thou, thee, thy, thine.* In Scotch the list is *the, thât, thys, thae, thyr, thay, thaim, thair, thairs, theare, thàn, thăn* (*thyne, thider, for-thy,* antiquated), *thon* and *thonder,* variants of *yon* and *yonder*; and the forms of the second pronouns, *thow, thy,*

thyne, thee, which are obsolete in the spoken dialects, but read as (dhæu, dhai, dhain dhii). But *though,* in Sc. *thó,* formerly *thocht,* has the breath sound as in *th*in. *With* in English (wi*th*) is in Scotch *wuth* ; and the same sound is retained in plural words like mouths, truths (muths, trəths), which in English take the voice sound (məudhz, truudhz). The confusion between the voiced sound and D in the middle of words, as *bodder* or *bother,* has been considered under the letter D. For the *voiced* sound initially, and even medially, the old Ags. *thorn*-letter þ was retained. But in the hand-writing of scribes this came gradually to be confused in form with the character for vowel *y,* and was in consequence printed as *y* by the first printers, whose founts of types—all of foreign manufacture—contained no letter for the English þ. In some of the MSS. we find the true *y* distinguished from this *thorn y* by being dotted, ẏ. But this was by no means general, and, in consequence, the words given above appear in old books as ye, yat, yis, ya, yir, yai, yaim, yair, yairs, yare, yan, yine, yider, foryi, yow, yi, yine, ye ; and we also find oyer, nouyer, quheyer, and less commonly broyer, for *other, nouther, quhether, brother,* While the character y had thus come into use to express the sound of voiced *th,* the sound of *y* consonant had similarly intruded upon the character proper to *z.* The Ags. g, of which the form was ȝ, had in certain positions a guttural sound, like *ch* in li*ch*t. After the Norman Conquest the Ags. character was retained to express this sound, while the Roman g was used for the sounds in *gage.* The guttural sound became successively weakened into the initial whispered *y* heard in *hue, Hugh,* and the simple *y* consonant as in *you* ; and although occasionally written *yh,* as in the Royal MS. of Wyntoun (yhit, yhow, yhe, yhisterday), its regular form in Scotch was ȝ, a modification of the original Ags. ȝ or g. But the letter z having come to have the same form in MS., the two letters were identified, just as it happened with the *thorn* and the *vowel* y, so that early printers used ȝ or z alike for both, printing ȝe, ȝellow, ȝeal, ȝenith ; ȝe, ȝellow, ȝeal, ȝenith, or ze, zellow, zeal, zenith. Whence it happens that in turning to a printed book of the 16th century, we find z used, not only for *z,* but for *y consonant* ; and y, in its turn, used not only for *y vowel,* but also for the voice sound of *th,* as in *the.* In Scottish hand-writing and on tombstones, etc., the compendium of *y* for *th* was still in use two generations ago ; and the use of z for y has fastened itself permanently upon some proper names and other words, such as *Cockenzie, Dalziel, Menzies, Mackenzie, Drummelzier, gaberlunzie,* etc., where people who affect to be correct speakers, pronounce it as if it were a real *z,* and doubtless this habit will eventually drive out the genuine pronunciation, for already in Edinburgh it is 'proper' to call Cocken*z*ie *Cockenzie,* and 'vulgar' to say *Cockennyie.*

V is often expressed by F in the older Scotch orthography, as *haif, leif, preif, moif,* have, leave, prove, move. As in Ags., the F

was probably pronounced as V, which letter, or rather U, was often used instead, as *haue, leaue, preue, moue, move.* But in plurals such as *wyiffis, theiffis,* as already mentioned, the *f* had its own sound.

An original V is very frequently elided in Scotch after a vowel or a liquid. Thus we have *pree, lea'e* (Burns), *een, eend, een, eenin', yestreen, se'enight, e'er, ne'er, Innerleithen, Stein, Steinson, Te'iot,* (teiət), *Lennox, Stirling,* etc., for *preve* or *preif,* prove, try, *leave, even, evened,* i.e. straightened, *eve, evening, yester-even, seven-night, ever, never, Inverleithen, Stephen, Stevenson, Teviot, Levenax, Striveling. Leis-me* or *leeze-me* represents the old *leif is me,* dear to me is,—

"O leeze me on my spinnin' wheel!
O leeze me on my rock and reel!"

as *lesum, leful,* represents *leif-sum, leif-ful. Have, give, gave, given,* have become *hae, gi'e, ga'e, gi'en* = hæ, gee, gæ, geen; and, like the latter, *unthriven, riven, driven,* are often *unthre'en, re'en, dre'en.* The 16th century spelling was *reuyn, dreuyn,* but like *heuyn, euyl, deuyl* (now *yll, deil*), the pronunciation was monosyllabic.

Gaif nocht thy makar thé fre wyll
To tak the gude and leif the euyll?
Lyndesay, Mon. 969.

The tre to knaw baith gude and euyll,
Quhilk be perswatioun of the Deuyll, etc. l. 746.

Both pronunciations *nevir* and *ne'er* were known in the 16th century. Compare James the Sixth's "Reulis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie." Chap. VI.: "As in Flyting and Inuectiues, ȝour wordis to be cuttit short . . . . sic as thir,—

Iis neir cair

for

I sall neuer cair,

gif ȝour subiect were of loue or tragedies. Because in thame, ȝour wordis man be drawin lang, quhilkis in Flyting man be short." Further examples are seen in *loe, loesome, doo* (S. Sc. *duw*), *aboon, owre,* for *love, dove, aboven, over; sel, twall, ser, hairst* for *self* or *selue, tuelf twelve, serve, heruest; braw, saw,* and in Old Sc. (also Old Eng.) *waw,* for *brave, salve, wave; sawr, sawrless, sairless,* for *savour, savourless, insipid; weel-faur'd* = well-favoured.

In Gaelic we find a similar elision of the *bh* or *v,* and *mh* or nasalized *v.* Compare *ionar* = *inver; thalla* = *thalamh; cumhach, coimhleabach,* pronounced *coilepach.*

W is still commonly pronounced before R by country folk in the Southern Counties, and I suppose by old people in many parts of Scotland, a slight pause, or *scheva* as it is called in Hebrew, being interposed, as with SH'R, thus, *w'rang, w'richt, w'rist, w'ryte, w'ren.* In the north-eastern dialects the *w* is replaced by *v,* as *wh* is by *f,* thus, *vrang, vrycht, vryst, vreet, vran.*

Between twenty and thirty years ago I used to hear *lisp* pronounced by Old Teviotdale villagers as *w'lisp*, like the Ags. wlispian, and as in Barbour, where we read of Sir James Douglas :

> And in spek wlispit he sum deill,
> Bot that sat hym rycht wondre weill.

This pronunciation is now, I fear, quite gone, and that of WR is rapidly following it. Two other of the numerous Ags. words in WL came down some distance in the Northern tongue ; namely, *wlatsom*, loathsome, hateful, found in Hampole, etc., and *wlonk*, a gay lady, a belle. The alliteration of Dunbar's "Tua marryit wemen and the Wedo" shews that in *wlonk* the W was pronounced in the 16th century.

> And of thir fair **W**lonkes, with tua **W**eddit **W**ar with lordis,
> Ane was ane **W**edo, I **W**ist, **W**antoun of laitis.
>
> The **W**edo to the tothir **W**lonk **W**arpit thir **W**ordis.

From a pronunciation of *Wlonke* as *Vlonke*, like *Vreet* for *Wreyte*, we are said to derive the word *flunkey*.

The northern speech both in England and Scotland has a tendency to drop initial W and Y before the cognate vowel sounds of *oo* and *ee*, thus, *woo, wool, woollen, wolf, ye, year, yield*, are pronounced *'oo, 'oo', 'oollin, 'oolf, 'ee, 'eer, 'eild*. And in reading English, *would, wood, woman, womb*, are (or were) similarly pronounced *'ood, 'ood, 'ooman, 'oom*,[1] the vernacular saving the *w* by changing the following vowel, *wad, wud, wumman, weame*, sometimes also *woff, wuff*, for *wolf*. *Week*, in Ags. *wuce*, and hence in Old Sc. *wouk*, is similarly made into 'ouk = ook ; but this is old fashioned, and *weik* is now the common form in the south of Scotland at least. The Danish *uge, ulv, urt, I, aar*, week, wolf, wort, ye, year, present the same peculiarity, of which traces are already found in the Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels in the 10th century.

As *week* and *ouk* are alternative forms, so *we* often becomes *oo* in Central Scotland, — "Oo nô ken nochts aboot it," *We don't know anything about it*, and, *per contra, our = oor*, is often expanded in the south to *wur, wer* ; and the prefix *un-* used to be regularly written *wan = wun*, as wanrestfu', wanricht, wanluck, wanthryft, etc., but this pronunciation is now disappearing. *Wan-* (Ags. wana, *want, lack, deficiency*,) was probably the older form of *un-*, for which it was still used in some words in Ags., as wan-hál *un-hale*, wan-hælð *un-health*, wan-hýdig *un-heedy*, wan-spédig *unspeedy*, corresponding to the Scandinavian vanheil, vanheilsa, vanhyggja, etc. The Old Norse had the two forms *van-* and *ú*, which appear in the modern tongues as *van* and *u* or *o* ;

[1] I can remember the time when pronunciation of the combinations, *woo, ye*, presented considerable difficulties to me, as we know they do to Germans and Frenchmen, who often never get beyond *'oo, 'ee*.

O.N. vanmâttr; *Danish, Swedish,* vanmagt, *unmight,* weakness. *O.N.* ú-rettr, *Dan.* uret, *Sw.* orätt, *unright, wrong.* The contraction of *ye, yer* = your into *'ee, 'eer,* seems to belong to the Southern Scotch; in other dialects the *y* is saved by altering the vowel *yă, yăr* or *yeh, yer.* These fluctuations in the value of W and Y are due to the intermediate position of the *w* and *y* glides between consonants and vowels, and the consequent facility with which they pass into either class of sounds; they are intimately connected with the development of close *o* and *é* into *wu* and *ye,* as in English *one, wun,* and Scotch *ane, yen,* already considered under the vowel sounds *ea* and *uo.*

Unaccented Syllables and Terminations.

The vowels and diphthongs already described represent the sounds heard in those syllables which are under an accent primary or secondary; in other positions the vowel sounds are *dulled* or obscured to such an extent that they lose their original quality, and fall into the obscure *ĕ* described under No. 5, or the short *ĭ*, No. 2. This is especially the case in open syllables following the accent, in which position all vowel sounds, except Nos. 1 and 2, sink into an obscure *ĕ* or *ă* sound, as heard in English bounded, in sof*a*, or the London pronunciation of *er* final in manner, grocer, which has already been referred to as a *dulled* form of the *mid front wide,* or perhaps more correctly the *mid-mixed* vowel. This is the final sound heard in this dialect in the words sof*a*, Americ*a*, Indi*a*, widow, window, shadow, sparrow, borrow, sorrow, Chatto, Minto, Yarrow, yellow, fellow, hero, stucco, potato, tobacco, value, sinew, nephew, Andrew, sirrah, Pharaoh, Laidlaw, Boonraw, Wooflaw, Greenhaugh, Headshaugh, Linthaugh-lee, Todshaw-hill, Moray, Monday, railway, sheriff, can-nocht, wald-nocht, bannock, haddock, back-fu', hand-fu', sorrow-fu', paddo', Islay, baillie or bailzea, Kedzie, etc., etc., where the diverse final vowels shewn in the spelling have all alike sunk into this obscure, colourless *ĕ* or *ă*, thus (sofə, ɡmi'r·ikə, Endiə, widə, wɐndə, shadə, sparə, borə, sorə, Tshatə, Mentə, Jarə, Jalə, falə, Hiərə, stukə, pətatə, baakə, velə, senə, ni'fə, Andrə, serə, Faarə, Ledlə, Bənre, Wuflə, Grinə, Hidshə, Len·tə-lei, Tod·shə-hel, Morə, Mɐndə, relwə, sherə, kanə, wadnə, banə, Hadə, bakfə, Haandfə, sor·əfə, padə, Eilə, bíəl·Jə, Kíəd·Jə). The proper treatment of these final vowels is one of the most difficult problems connected with a systematised orthography. Are we to continue to spell the words *weido, wundo, sparrow, yallow, Monanday, handfu',* etc., leaving it to the reader to find out that the *o, ow, ay, u, ue,* etc., are not to be pronounced as, *o, ow, ay, u, ue,* but as this obscure *ĕ*, or are we to discard the historical spelling and write the words as actually pronounced? When we examine the usage of other languages, we find that it has been the rule to indicate this

obscuring of unaccented vowels (which is a regular phonetic law, seen in operation in all languages in which we can compare a later with an earlier stage of growth,) by a corresponding change in the spelling. In Early English, when the Anglo-saxon lufu, wudu, cildru, æȝru, eálo, feó, hǽlo, þreo, gerefa, mona, blostma, Beda, hara, oxa, assa, drincan, ȝeclypod, lufode, heofon, lufiȝe, had come to have their final syllable obscured in the same way as the Scotch weido, nephew, etc., they were so written, luve, wude, childre, eȝre, ale, fee, hele, three, reve, mone, blosme, Bede, hare, oxe, asse, drinken, ycleped, luved, heven, luve, without regard to the original vowel which the *e* represented. In Anglo-saxon itself, an *e* had replaced other original vowels, as sylle for syll*u*, syll*o*, eáȝe, tunȝe, eáre, sealfe, for the Old Gothic aug*o*, tung*o*, aus*o*, salb*o*. In the modern Teutonic languages we see the same adaptation of spelling to the changed sound, even where the English has preserved the historical vowels, as in German schatt*e*, sorg*e*, wittw*e*, neff*e*, for shad*ow*, sorr*ow*, wid*ow*, neph*ew*; Danish vindu*e*, padd*e*, wind*ow*, paddo' (frog). So when the French had similarly dulled the unaccented vowel of the Latin hom*o*, corn*u*, tonitr*u*, port*a*, tenebr*as*, am*o*, am*a*, am*ant*, dic*unt*, dic*ant*, ego, it did not continue to write the original vowels, but spelt homme, corne, tonnerre, porte, ténèbres, aime, aime, aiment, disent, disent, je, where, as in English, the *e* has at length become quite silent. In other languages the method has been adopted of writing the original vowels distinguished by certain marks to shew that they have no longer their own sounds,—that, though etymologically *a*, *o*, *u*, they are, practically and phonetically, an obscure *ĕ*. The language in which the most systematic attempt has been made (it cannot yet be said successfully) to make spelling do two things,—at once tell the etymology, and the actual living word,—is the Rumanian of Moldo-Wallachia, in which, according to one system of writing, a sound like the English *e* in the, faces, is variously written *â*, *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *û*, and another vowel, near to the English *u*, in b*u*t, foc*u*s, takes the forms *ă*, *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŏ*, *ŭ*, according as they represent, or are derived from, a Latin *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, respectively. This is as though we were in modern English to write the words *hare, eye, ended, fee, shame, verse,* as harâ, eyê, endôd, feô, shamû, versû, to shew that we knew that they were *once* har*a*, eáȝe, endod, feo, sceam*u*, vers*us*, a concession to the etymological principle which the most rigid believer in "historical spelling" is hardly prepared for.

The chief difficulty in writing Scotch arises from the want of a vowel to substitute. *E* is no longer admissible on account of the habit of regarding a final *e* as naturally silent. *A* seems most suitable alike from its preserving the form of the proper names, as in Bell*a*, Indi*a*, Africa; being known with this power, as in gal*a*, sof*a*, *a*mong, Armadale; and being already used for the very purpose when we write *canna, dinna, wadna,* for the older *cannocht, do-nocht, wald-nocht; bacca, shirra, banna,* for *tobacco,*

sheriff, bannock; or when we contract proper names, as Isla, Jura, Rona, for Islay, Juray, Ronay, Greena for Greenhaugh, Lintalee for Linthaughlee.

It seems, therefore, desirable to extend the spelling in *a* to as many cases as possible; but when for any reason the etymological spelling is retained, it might be marked with ˘, thus, weid*a*, Andr*a*, hadd*a*, vail*a*, railw*a*, or weid*ă*, Andr*ă*, haddă, vail*ă*, railw*ăy*; the ˘ being conventionally understood to mean that the original sound of the vowel is quite lost, and that even in drawling or prolonging the sound, we only hear the sound of *e* in *yet, next, wanted*. To write *weido, shado, Monanday, Andrew* or *Andro, awfu', waefu'*, is quite deceptive, and misleads an English or Foreign reader; for in English the final vowels in *widow, shadow, Monday, Andrew, awful, woful*, are, though unaccented, clearly and distinctly *o, ay, ew, u*, whereas in Scotch, even when artificially accented, drawled, or sung to a long note, there is no vestige of the vowel which is shewn in the writing, but only of this obscure *e*. The same obscure vowel-sound is also given to a number of subordinate words and particles, including *the, a, an, an'* and, *ăt* relative, *thăn* conjunction (dhə, ə, ən, ən, ət, dhən); and to the words, *i'* in, *o'* of, *at, to, wi'* with, *fræ* from, *thàn* then, *may, mæn* or *maun* must, *had, nor, thay* they, *me*, when unaccented (ə, ə, ət, tə, wə, frə thrə, dhən, mə, mən, həd, nər, dhə, mə); when emphatic they become (en en·ə, oo of, *at, təə*, wəə wath, fræə thræə, dhan, mææ, mæn man, hæd, noor, dh*ee*, mei). It is besides the sound given to the unaccented *a-* prefix in open syllables, as in a-mang, a-buin, a-yont, a-neuwch, a-neuw (əmaq·, əbən·, əjont·, ənəkwh·, ənəu·). When followed by two consonants a more decidedly back vowel is used, nearer to à, probably (ɐ) or (ɤ), as in *admyt, asklænt* (ɐdmet·, ɐsklænt·); and the same sound is taken by the words *quhan* when, *was, waar* were, *can, wad*, would, *I, my, als*—*as*, as—as, when unemphatic, (kwhɐn, wɐz, wɐr, kɐn, wɐd, ɐ, mɐ, ɐs—ɐz), which under the stress are (kwhan, waz, waar, kaṅ, wad, *aa*, m*aa*, *as*—az).

The other unaccented vowel is the brief ĭ (No. 2), which I have already said I think closer than the English *i* in p*i*ty, comf*i*t, and, before a consonant at least, undistinguishable from the accented short *ei* in f*ei*t, L*ei*th, or French *i* in pet*i*te, vis*i*ter.

This *i* generally represents the English *i, y*, in unaccented syllables, as in mer*i*t, char*i*table, carr*y*, carr*i*ed; Scotch mear*i*t, chær*i*table, cairr*ie*, cairr*i*et. In polysyllables there seems to be a kind of harmonic law preventing the recurrence of this brief *i* in two or more successive syllables. In words where it would so come naturally, the recurrence is avoided by changing one *i* into the other brief vowel (ə), thus *qualify, charitable* (kwalifei, tshær·ətəbl), with *i*, but quality, charity (kwal·əti, tshær·əti), where the *i* is changed into ĕ, ă, to avoid the combination *ĭtĭ*. So in polĕcie *policy*, prophĕcie, as compared with *poleice, propheit*, muitĕnie, *mutiny*, muitinous.

The terminations -ABLE, -IBLE, are alike (əb'l), as in *visible, feasable* (vii·zəb'l, *fii'*z·əb'l). So *-ability, -ibility,* (əbíl·ət*i*).

-AC, -ACK = (ək) ; but -IC = (ik, *i*k), as in *stomach, music* (stam·ək, mə*ə*·zik).

-ACE, -ASE, -ES = (əs), but -ICE, -IS, in old or French words = (is, *i*s), as in *palace, Forbes, notice, haggis* (pel·əs, for·bəs, not·is, hag·is). Only in a few words, mostly of recent introduction, is *-is* = (-əs), *poultice* (pɛltəs).

-ACY, -ASY, -ICY, -ESY, -ISY = (əs*i*), as *prelacy, policy, phrenesy* (pri*i'*l·əs*i*, pol·əsi, fren·əs*i*).

-AGE, -IAGE, -EGE = (idzh, *i*dzh) : *manage, marriage, college* (man·idzh, mer·idzh, kol·idzh). In *cabbage, porridge,* the consonantal ending loses its vocality, becoming (kab·*i*tsh, por·itsh). So *-ager,* as *bondager* (bon·d*i*dzhər).

-AN, -AIN, -EN, -ON = (ən), but -IN, ING, in old words = (in, *i*n), *hallan, certain, baron, garten* = garter ; *Latin,* a *singing,* a *being* (hal·ən, sær·tən, b*aa*·rən, g*ə*r·tən, let·in, seq·in, bei·in) ; so verbal *-ing* always. With the termination *-ity* added, hu*manity,* div*inity* (həmen·ət*i*, dəvin·ət*i*). But *-iny,* as well as *-any,* becomes (əni) ; *mutiny* like *harmony* (mət·əni, h*ə*r·mən*i*). The words *garden, children, linen, woollen, flannen* = flannel, have the close termination (ger·din, tshel·drin, len·in, ul·in, flan·in). They were usually written *yn, ing,* by the old writers, *gardyng, childryng, lyning,* etc. ; not being original Scotch words, the Scotch writers seem to have looked upon them as collective forms from *garth, childer, lint, wool,* like *housing, clethyng, sheeting,* from *house, claith, sheet,* and to have written and pronounced them accordingly. The participial -AND is (-ən) or (-ɐn), syttand, beand, cummand (set·ən, bei·ən, kɛm·ən) or (set·ɐn, bei·ɐn, kɛm·ɐn). -EN of the past participle and of causative verbs, now usually ('n) without connecting vowel, as *written, stooden, holden, open, weaken, whiten* (w'ret·'n, st*ə*d·'n, h*aa*d·'n, *o*p·'n, wee·k'n, k*w*heit·'n).

-ANCE, -ENCE = (əns) ; ANCY, -ENCY (əns*i*) *owerance, impudence, sapience,* (ou·rəns, empid·ens, sap·iəns).

-ANT, -ENT = (ənt) : *callant, parent* (kal·ənt, p*aa*·rənt).

-AR, -ER, -OR (ər) ; *-ar* was in the Scottish writers the most usual form of the termination of the agent, as in *baxtar, tailȝear, coilȝear* ; it was also used in comparatives as *erar* rather, *hiear* higher ; in other words, the common spelling was *-yr, ir,* as in *fadyr, modyr, neuyr, wattir.* The modern pronunciation of all these forms is (ər). *-ary, -ery, -ory,* are (ər*i*), as *history* (hes·tər*i*).

-ARD, -ART = (ərd, ərt), as *coward, guisart* (kɐu·ərd, gei·zərt).

-ATE, -AT, ET = (ət), but -IT, -ITE, in old words, especially of French origin = (it, *i*t), as *merit, Jacobite* (mi'rit, dzhak'·əbit). In words of recent introduction *-it* has the opener sound (ət), *pulpit, vomit, rabbit, hermit*—for the native *armeit*

now obsolete—(pup·ət, vom·ət, *rab*·ət, hær·mət). -ATY, -ITY, always (ət*i*) rarity (*ree*·rət*i*).

-ER, -ESS, -EST = (ər, əs, əst), *father, rather, countess, weakest* (fedh·ər, redh·ər, cun·təs, wee·kəst).

-FUL = (fə) *mouthfu', thochtfu'* (muth·fə, thok*w*ht·fə).

-FY, in the pronunciation of older people (fi, f*i*), but with the more modernized (fei) or (f*ei*) ; *terrify*, older (tær·əfi), newer (tær·if*ei*).

-HOOD, in its old form, *-hede, heid* (hid), as *manhede, maydinheid* (man·Hid, mee·dənhid), but now often *-huid* (-Həd).

-ID = (id, *i*d), *rapid* (rapid), but in some more recent words (əd), as *vivid, tepid* (viiv·əd, tip·əd).

-IFE = (if), as *wakerife, cauldrife* (wi'k·rif, k*aa*ld·rif).

-ION = (iən, Jən), *communion* (komən·iən).

-ISH, -ISCH = (ish, *i*sh), *parish, finish* (per·ish, fin·ish).

-IVE = (iv), *olive* (ol·iv).

-IZE, -ISE, when under the accent (iiz), *baptize, civilise* (baptiiz·, ciivəliiz·), otherwise (iz, *i*z), *exercise* noun (*e*k·sərsiz), verb (*e*ksərsiiz·).

-LE, -AL, -EL, -IL, -YL, in its older form (əl), but now more generally ('l) as in English *table* (te*e*·b'l). So *handle, moral, barrel, devil* (han·'l, mor·'l, bar·'l, diiv·'l) ; the last word contracted *deil* (dil).

-LESS = (ləs) *thowless* (thou·ləs).

-LENTH = (lənth) *foot-length* (fet·lənth).

-LY = (l*i*) sometimes purposely accented and made (l*ai*), trew-l$\bar{y}$ (trəu·l*ai*·).

-MAN, when carefully pronounced, has more decidedly a back vowel (m*a*n, m*æ*n), but is perhaps oftener confused with *-men*, as (mən). In English also no difference is heard in ordinary pronunciation between *boatman* and *boatmen*.

-MENT = (mənt) *judgment* (dzhədzh·mənt).

-MONY = (mən*i*), or under secondary accent (m*æ*n*i*), *harmony, agrimony* (Her·mən*i*, *a*g·rim*æ*n*i*).

-MOST = (məst), *boonmest, hindmest* (bən·məst, Hen·məst).

-NESS (nəs), as *sweetness* (swit·nəs).

-OUS, US (əs) as *almous*, alms (*aa*·məs). -IOUS, -EOUS (iəs, Jəs), but in several words made *-uous* (uəs, wəs), as righteous, piteous, *richtwis, pituous* (rekjht·wəs, pit·uəs, pit·wəs).

-SHIP (shəp), *friendship* (frind·shəp) ; a few words retain an older form in *-skip* (skəp), as *huswifskip, ayrskip* (HIZ·iskəp, *ee*r·skəp), housewifeship, heirship.

-SIVE, in Eng. always (s*i*v), is in Sc. often (z*i*v, ziv), as *decisive* (disii·ziv).

-SOME (s*æ*m) or (səm), *tiresome* (tei·ərs*æ*m).

-TION, -CION, -SION, -TIENCE, -CIENCE. Down to the middle of the 16th century this termination was dissyllabic = (si-on·). When James VI. wrote his *Reulis and Cautelis* (Edin. 1585), it had become reduced to a monosyllable in ordinary practice,

but the dissyllabic pronunciation was retained at the end of a line in verse: "There is a kynde of indifferent wordis, asweill as of syllabis, the nature quhairof is, that gif ȝe place thame in the begynning of a lyne, they are shorter be a fute, nor they are, gif ȝe place thame hinmest in the lyne, as

> Sen patience I man haue perforce,
> I liue in hope with patience.

ȝe se there are bot aucht fete in ather of baith thir lynes aboue written. The cause quhairof is, that *patience* in the first lyne is bot of twa fete (pææs·ɹens), and in the last lyne of thrie (pææ-si-ens·), in respect it is the hinmest word of that lyne."[1] Examples of the same usage abound in the so-called Scottish version of the Psalms in metre, as—

> "A man was famous, and was held
> in estima-ti-on,
> According as he lifted up
> his axe thick trees upon."

But although the traditional pronunciation *-a-shi-on, a-shience,* is retained liturgically in singing, the termination has become as in Eng. (shən shɐn, shəns) in actual use. With regard to the preceding vowel, I have heard (*a*) from old people in *Galatians* (gala*a*·shənz), but *a* is now usually *ai,* as in Eng., thus, *nation, national* (nee·shən, nee·shənəl); *-assion, -ashion,* are (ashən); *-ession, -ition, -otion, -ution* (æ·shən, i·shən, oo·shən, ə·shən). The voice consonant is heard in *-esion, -ision, -osion, -usion* (ii·zhən, ii·zhən, oo·zhən, əə·zhən); but *occasion* is usually pronounced as if written *occaition* (okee·shən), and *transition* in Eng. (trænsi·zhɐn) is in Sc. usually (tranzi·shən). *Patience* is usually made (pee·shənz), as if it were the plural of *pation,* which may be the cause of its being used as a plural noun, thus, *monie paytience, owre feuw paytience.*

-TIOUS, -CIOUS, which in England are also monosyllabic, still make two syllables (shi-əs) in Sc., as in *precious* (pree·shiəs), like *glorious* (gloo·riəs). The same is the case with all such forms as *-teous, -geous, -gious,* as in *plenteous* (plen·tiəs), and Dominie Sampson's *pro-di-gi-ous*! (pro-di·-dzhi-əs).

-TIAL, -CIAL = (shiəl, shɹəl), *official* (ofi·shiəl); with *-ity* (shial·əti), *partiality* (parshial·əti).

-TY (*ti*), -TILY (təli), *canty, cantily* (kan·ti, kan·təli). The noun ending *-ty* still survives as *-tith* in several words, *bountith,* poortith, daintith, (bun·təth, pəɐr·təth, den·təth).

-URE (ər), the preceding consonant being unchanged, thus, *nature, leisure, measure* (nee·tər, lee·zər, mez·ər).

-WARD (wɐrt, wɐrt), *doonwart* (dun·wɐrt).

-WISE, -WAYS (wez, wez) *likewise, side-wise,* or *side-ways* (leik·wəz lek·wəz, seid-wəz).

[1] Works of James I. in Arber's *English Reprints,* No. 19, p. 61.

Scotch Pronunciation of English.

It has already been stated that the *liturgical* language of Scotland—the language of the Scriptures and devotion—has been, since the Reformation, more or less the literary English. Since the union of the kingdoms—in most parts of Scotland, since the Commonwealth—English has been the only language taught at school, and, for ordinary purposes, used in writing. But while there has been one written standard for Scotchmen and Englishmen, in actual pronunciation this English of Scotland has been, and still is, greatly different from the English of Southern England. To say that it is English read or spoken with northern instead of southern vowels, with the northern trilled *r* instead of the vocalized *r* of the south, and with northern habits of quantity and accent, would not be to state the exact difference between the two modes of utterance; it would be more correct to say that it is English read with a *northern conception of the southern vowels*, sometimes identifying them with the corresponding northern vowels, at other times discriminating between them and exaggerating the difference. Thus *him, his, with* (ɧim, ɧiz, ẇidh) are distinguished from the Sc. hym, hyz, wuth, but pronounced (ɧim, hiz, with); book, both, stone, full (b*u*k, b*oo*th, st*oo*n, f*u*l) are distinguished from the native *buik, baith, stane, full* or *fou*, but made (buk, both, ston, ful). In many respects this pronunciation represents a more archaic stage of English, and many words doubtless retain the traditional sounds with which they were introduced into Scotland in the 16th or 17th century. As a specimen I give the Hundredth Psalm (of which two 16th century forms have already been given, page 68,) as it was read in school, and from the pulpit, within my own recollection, and may still be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale. For the sake of comparison I give (also in palaeotype) the standard Southern English pronunciation, as written for me by Mr. Ellis;[1] and, to shew how this English of Scotland differs from the vernacular pronunciation of Scotch, the Scotch forms of the words are also added. The specimen probably shews the extreme of the difference between the English of Scotland, as still existing, and the Standard English; in the pronunciation of individuals every variety of approximation from this to the Southern English pronunciation will of course be heard, in proportion to the intercourse they have had with those who use the standard idiom, not merely as a *liturgical*, but as a *living* tongue.

[1] I have ventured to differ from Mr. Ellis's transcription only so far as to write the long *ā* and *ō* (*eei*, *oou*) as they are always pronounced in the south, and as I seem to hear them from Mr. Ellis himself, although he considers them theoretically as only (*ee*, *oo*).

Standard Eng. 1 ɑɑl pii·p'l dhæt on ɹth duu dwel,
Eng. of Scot. 2 ɑɑl pii·p'l dhat on ærth du dwæl,
Scotch. 3 *aa fu'k* ət on ɹerth dez dwal,

1 siq tu dhy Loɹd widh tshiiɹ·ful vois.
2 siq tu dhə Loord with tshiir·ful vois.
3 seq tə dhə Luu'rd wə tshiir·fə vois.

1 him sɹv widh mɹth, hiz preeiz fooɹth tel,
2 him særv with merth, hiz preez forth tæl,
3 hem sæær wə merth, həz preez fɐrth tæl,

1 kəm ɹi bifooɹ him ænd ridzhois·.
2 kɐm ii bifoor him ænd ridzhois·.
3 kɐm ii əfuu'r əm ən ridzhoiz·.

1 noou dhæt dhy Loɹd iz Gəd indiid·;
2 noo dhat dhə Loord iz Good indid·;
3 kæn ət dhə Luu'rd əz Good əndid·;

1 widhəut· əuɹ eeid, hi did əs meeik:
2 withɐut· ɐur ed hi dəd ɐs meek:
3 wəthut· uur hælp hei dəd əs míək:

1 wii aaɹ hiz flok, hi dəth əs fiid,
2 wi aar hiz flok, hi doth ɐs fid,
3 wei er hez her·s'l, hei dez əs fid,

1 ænd foɹ hiz shiip hi dəth əs teeik.
2 ænd foor hiz ship hi doth ɐs teek.
3 ən foor hez ship hei dez· əs tíək.

1 oou! en·tɹ dhen hiz geeits widh preeiz,
2 oo! æntər dhæn hiz geets with preez,
3 oo! kɐm en dhən ət əz ɹææts wə preez,

1 ɐprooutsh· widh dzhoi hiz kooɹts əntuu·:
2 ɐprotsh· with dzhoi hiz korts ɐntuu·:
3 gaq for·ət wə dzhoi həz kurts təə:

1 preeiz, lɑɑd, ænd bles hiz neeim ɑɑlweeiz·,
2 preez, laad, ənd bles hiz· nem aalweez·,
3 preez, laud, ən bles əz niem ei,

1 foɹ it iz siim·li soou tu duu
2 for it iz sim·li soo tu duu
3 for et ez far·ənt sii' tə dəə

1 foɹ whəi? dhy Loɹd, əuɹ Gəd, iz gud,
2 for whai? dhə Loord ɐur Good iz gud,
3 for kwhai? dhə Luu'rd uur Good ez gəd,

1 Hiz gud·nys iz foɪ ev·ɪ shuuɪ
2 Hiz gud·nəs iz for evər shəur
3 Həz gəd·nəs ez for evər səər

1 Hiz truuth æt AAl təimz fɹm·li stud
2 Hiz trəuth at aal taimz ferm·li stud
3 Hez trəth ət aa teimz ferm·li stəd

1 ænd shæl from eeidzh tu eeidzh endiuuɪ
2 ænd shal from ɛdzh tu ɛdzh əndəur
3 ən sal fræ iədzh tə iədzh əndəər

The third line is, of course, not given as idiomatic Scotch, but merely as shewing the vernacular forms of the *words*. An idiomatic version would alter the entire order of the words and mode of expression in some lines, rejecting altogether the *do, did, doth;* and in the Southern Scotch might be something like this—(to disregard the metrical form): "Aa fuok ăt leeves (dwàlls, wònns), ònna the yerth, syng tui the Luord, wui a cheerfŭ voyce. Sær 'ym wui myrth, tæll furth 'yz prayse, cum ye afuore 'ym, ăn rejoyse! Kæn ye, the Luord yz Gôd yn trowth; hey meade us, wuthoot ònie hælp o' oors: wey're hyz hyrsel ăt hey feids, ăn hey teakes us for 'yz scheip. O cum yn, thăn, at 'yz yætts wui prayse, gàng fòrrat tui 'yz coorts wui joye: aiy prayse, an' lauwd, an' blyss 'yz neame, for yt's fàrrant tui dui seae. Quhat fòr? the Luord oor Gôd's guid; hez guidness is suir for aiy: hyz truith stuid sycker ăt aa teymes, ăn yt 'll læst fræ eage tui eage."

Phonetic Relations between Modern Scotch, Anglo-Saxon, and English.

As a part of the great series of phonetic changes by which the modern Teutonic tongues have come to differ so widely from their ancient sources, and from each other, the *Laut-verschiebung* or systematic vowel-change from Anglo-Saxon to Modern Scotch, and the different forms which the same original vowels have assumed in Southern English and Modern Scotch, possess interest for every student of language. This interest is in no way dependent upon the literary or commercial importance, the culture or the diffusion of the idioms to which it attaches; the most isolated and unimportant dialect may, and often does, illustrate these laws of phonetic growth better than the most cultivated and widely-used language.

The Anglo-Saxon vowel groups are represented with considerable regularity in the Southern Scottish dialect, the chief exception being in connection with the ȝ and h of the older tongue, and the guttural or vocal diphthongs which represent them in the Scotch, and with the modifications produced by the letter *r*, which

generally affects the quantity of the preceding vowel, although it does not so often alter its quality as in the Standard English. The following table shews the *written* forms assumed by the chief Ags. vowel combinations in the Early and Middle Scotch, and their *spoken* forms in the modern dialect of the Southern Counties.

For the sake of brevity, a closed syllable, caused by a following consonant, is indicated by a turned period; thus a· indicates *a* in a closed syllable, or *a* followed by a consonant; ar· means *ar* followed by a consonant *or final*; æ··, æ followed by two consonants. An open syllable is indicated by a hyphen, thus a- means *a* at the end of a syllable. The same original vowel assumes different values in the modern dialects according as it occurs in an open or a closed syllable.

While, as shown by the first and fourth columns of the following table, the old vowels and combinations are represented in this dialect with considerable regularity, so that, given the modern Scotch representative of one Ags. word, we can with tolerable safety fix that of all words containing the same original vowels, the correspondence between the dialect and modern literary English is much less regular and harmonious. This arises largely from the chaotic state of modern English spelling, in consequence of the partial alterations which it has undergone, sometimes in obedience to a phonetic, at other times to an etymological feeling; also from the loss in English of the sound of *gh* and the various forms which have replaced it, as in *plough, enough*, Ags. ploh, ȝenoh, S. Sc. pleuwch, eneuwch; and from the Eng. vocalisation of final *r*, and the great disturbance in the vowel system caused thereby. It is also partly due to the different treatment which words of French and Classical origin have received in English and Scotch, from which it often comes that the same Eng. vowel has *one* representative in Sc. when of Ags. origin, and *another* form when of French origin, as in rain, strain, complain, S. Sc. rain, strein, complein (ren, strin, komplin·), play, pray, S. Sc. play, preae (plee, priiə) rose *pret. of rise*, rose the flower, S. Sc. rayse, ruose (reez, ruu'z). A detailed account of the Southern Scottish equivalents of the chief vowel combinations in modern English follows on page 144.

ANGLO-SAXON.		EARLY SCOTCH.		
a·	man, sang	a	man, sang	1
a(r·)	carl, warnian	a	carle, warn	2
a-	na-ma, ha-tian	a	name, hate	3
a-(r)	ha-ra, fa-ran	a	hare, fare	4
aȝ, ah	lag, laga, lage, lah	awch, aw	lach, lawch, law	5
ah	dah, lah	aw	law	6
á	gá, stán	a	ga, stane	7
á(r)	sár, máre	a	sare, mare	8
áȝ	ágen	aw	awen	9
áh, áh·	áh, áht	aw, awch·	aw, awcht	10
áw	bláwan, cráw	aw	blaw, craw	11
æ·	fæt (fatu), stæf (stafas)	a	fat, staf	12
æ··	æfter, blæddre, æsc	e	eftir, bleddyr, esch	13
æȝ	dæȝ, fæȝen, fæȝer	ay	day, fayn, fayr	14
é	réde, él, fér, blése	e	rede, ele, fere, blese	15
,, *final*	sé	e, ee	se, see	16
éȝ	mæȝden, séȝde	ay, ai	maydin, sayd, said	17
,, *final*	cléȝ, æȝ(hwær)	ay	clay, ay	18
e·	men, betst	e	men, best	19
e-	be-re, be-te, fe-dan	e	bere, fede	20
é	fét, hér, gléd	e	fete, her, glede	21
e *final*	he, me, ȝe, þe	e	he, me, ȝe, þe	22
eȝ	weȝ, heȝ	ay	way, hay	23
ea	eald, sealt, sceal	a,	alde, salt, sal	24
ea(r)	bearn, fearn, cear	a	barn, care	25
eá	eác, eást, breád	e	eke, est, brede	26
eáȝ	eáge	ey, ee	ey	27
eah· eoh·	eahta, feohtan	ey, eych	eycht, feycht fecht	28
eáh	héah	eych, ey	heych, hey	29
eaw	deaw, feáw, heawan	ew	dew, few, hew	30
eo(r)	heorte, steorra, feor	e	hert, stern, fer	31
eó	deóp, þeóf, deór	e,	depe, thef, dere	32
eó final, eóȝ eóh, eow	seó, beó, fleóh, treow, fleóge	e	se, be, fle, tre, fle	33
eów	bleów, hreówan	ew, eu	blew, rew, reu	34
i· y·	him, hym, bryeg, blind	i, y	him, hym, brig, bryg	35
i- y-	hider, biten	i, y	hider, bitten, bytten	36
í- ý-	wíf, brýd	i, y, ij	wif, wyf, wijf	37
iȝ	dríg, drígde	y	dry, dryit	38
iȝ	maniȝ, moniȝ	y, i	mony, moni	39
ih	niht, syhð	igh, ych	night, nycht, sicht	40
íw	híw, níwe	ew, eu	hew, new, neu	41
o·	hlot, bolt, hors	o	lot, bolt, hors	42
ol	bolster	o	bolstyr	43
o(r·)	horn, sceort	o	horn, schort	44
o-	þo-lede, to-ren	o	tholyd, toryn, torn	45
oȝ-	boga	ow	bow	46
oh·	sohte	ogh, owch	soght, sowcht	47
ow	stow	ow	stow	48
ó	óþer, bóc, dó	o (13th c.) u (*later*)	othir, boke, do vthyr, buke, do	49
óh	hó, hoh, dohtor	owch	howch, dowchtyr	50
ów	grówan, grówen	ow	grow, growyn	51
u	full, sunes, cuman	u (ow)	ful, sunnis (sownnys), cum	52
ú	út, tún	u (13th c.) ow (*later*)	ut, tun owt, town	53
ú *final*	cú, nú	u (13th c.) ow (*later*)	ku, nu kow, now	54
úh	rúh	uch, owch	ruch, rowch	55
úg	drúgoð	ow	drowth	56
,,	búgan, súg	owch, ow	bow, sowch	57

	MIDDLE SCOTCH.		MODERN SOUTHERN SCOTCH.	
1	a	man, sang	à	màn, sàng
2	a, ai	carle, wairn	ai	cairl, wairn
3	a, ai, ay	name, hayt	ea	neame, heate
4	ay	hayr, fayr	ay	hayr, fayr
5	awch, aw, au	lawch, law, lau	aa	laa
6	aw	law	eawch	deawch, leawch
7	a, ay	ga, gay	ea	geae, steane
8	ai, ay	sair, mayr	ay	sayr, mayr
9	aw, ai	awin, ain	auw, ay	auwn, ayn
10	aw, auch	aw, aucht	aa, auwch	aa, auwcht
11	aw, au	blaw, blau	aa	blaa, craa
12	a	fat, staff	à	fàt, stàff
13	e	eftir, bleddir, esch	æ	æfter, blæther, æsch
14	ay, ai	day, fain, fayr	ai, ay	day, fain, fayr
15	ei, ey	reid, feir, bleize	ei, ee	reid, eil, feir, bleeze
16	e, ey	se, sey	ey	sey
17	ay, ai	maydin, said	ai, ay	mayden, said
18	ay	clay, ay	aiy	claiy, aiy
19	e	men, best	æ	mæn, bæst
20	ei, ey	beir, feid	ei, ee	beir, feid
21	ei, ey	feit, heir, gleyd	ei, ee	feit, heir, gleid
22	e	he, me, ȝe, þe	ey, ee, e	hey, mey, yee, thĕ
23	ay, (a)	way (wa), hay	aiy	waiy, haiy
24	al, au	auld, salt saut, salt	aa, a	aald, saat, sàl
25	a, ay	bairn, cair cayr	ai, ay	bairn, fairn, cayr
26	ei	eik, eist, breid	ei	eik, eist, breid
27	ey, e	ey, é	ey	ey
28	auch, ech	aucht, fecht	æych	æycht, fæycht
29	ey, ie, e	hie, hé, hich, heych	eych, ey	heych, hey
30	ew, eu	dew, deu	euw	deuw, feuw, heuw
31	■	hert, stern, ferr	æ	hært, stærn, færr
32	ei	deip, theif, deir	ei, ee	deip, theif, deir
33	e, ey	se, be, fley, tre trey	ey	sey, bey, fley, trey
34	ew, eu	blew, bleu	euw	bleuw, reuw
35	i, y	him, hym, etc.	y	hym, bryg, blynd
36	i, y	hider, bytten	y	hyther, bytten
37	y, yi	wyff, wyif	ey or aiy	weyfe, breyde
38	y	dry, dryit	ȳ	drye, dryed
39	y, ie, e	mony, monie, mone	ie	monie
40	ich, ych	nicht, nycht	eych	neycht, seycht
41	ew, eu	hew, neu	euw	heuw, neuw
42	o	lot, bolt, hors	ò	lòt, bòlt, hòrse
43	ol, ow	bolstyr bowstyr	òwe	bòwster
44	o (oi)	horn, schoirt	uo	huoru, schuort
45	o, oi, oy	thoillyt, thoyll	uo	thuoled, tuorn
46	ow	bow	owe	bowe
47	och	socht	owch	sowcht
48	ow,	stow	owe	stowe
49	u, ui, uy	uthir, buke buik, du'd	ui	(uther), buik, dui
50	ouch, och	houch, dochtir	owch	howch, dowchter
51	ow	grow, growin	owe	growe, gròwn
52	u (o)	full, sunnis sonnis, cum	u	fuw, suns, cum
53	ou (ow)	out, toun	oo	oot, toon
54	ou (ow)	cow, nou	uw	cuw, nuw
55	ouch	rouch	uwch	ruwch
56	ou	drouth	oo	drooth
57	ow, owch	bow, sowch, sow	uw	buw, suw

Scotch Equivalents of English Vowels.

English A short, or A, AU, long and slender, in *-ass*, *-ast*, *-ant*, *-aunt*, is in Scotch usually *a* short, as màn, bàttle, pàss, àss *ashes*, pàst, làst *adj.* càs'le, ànt, ànt *aunt*, chànt, hànt *haunt*, vànt *vaunt*, dànt *daunt*. *Any*, *many*, are in Scetch *onie*, *monie*.

But when the English A in *-ass*, *-ast*, *-ash*, represents an Ags. æ, the S. Sc. is usually æ, as mæss *the mass*, glæss, gærs *or* græss, læst *to last*, fæs'n *fasten*, æsch *ash-tree*, wæsch *wash*, thræsch, hæv, hæs, hæd.

Before *nch* the Sc. sound is *ai*, as *branch*, *haunch*, *stanch*, Sc. brainsch, hainsch, stainsch.

English A, short or long in *-and*, is in Sc. *aa* long: laand, baand, staand, haand, graand, command, demaand, waand. But pret. of verbs short, as fànd, gràn'.

Eng. A, broad in -al, -all, -aw, -au, usually long *aa* in Sc.: *wall*, *ball*, *walk*, *called*, *law*, *malt*, *hawk*, *salt*. Sc. waa, baa, waak, caa'd, laa, maat, haak, saat.

But *au*, *aw*, from classical source are in Sc. *auw* (*a*u, *a*au), *audience*, *autograph*, *pauper*, *laud*, *laudanum*, Sc. auwdience, auwtograph, pauwper, lauwd, lauwd'num.

Eng. AR, representing an Ags. *eor*, is in Sc. *æ* long or short, thus, far, dark, darn, smart, starve, star, farm, bark, *as a dog*, carve, farthing, representing the Ags. feor, deorc, deorn, smeort, steorf, steorra, feorm, beorcan, feorðing, are in Sc. færr, dærk, dærn, smært, stærve, stærn, færm, bærk, cærve, færdin. So særk, *sark*, *shirt*, hærk *hark*. *Spark*, *mark*, are spærk, mærk, though having *ea* in Ags. *Tar* is also tær.

Eng. AR, representing an Ags. *ear*, is in Sc. *ai* (*e*, *ee*), thus, arm, harm, sharp, park, ark, yard, narrow, swarm, ward, warn, warp, the Ags. earm, hearm, scearp, pearroc, earc, geard, nearw, swearm, weard, wearn, wearp, are in Sc. airm, hairm, schairp, pairk, airk, yāird, nairra, swairm, waird, wairn, wairp.

Eng. AR, from classical and recent sources, is also *ai*, as in art, cart, part, dart, card, charter, scarce, Charley, market, Martinmas, garter, charge, large, carry, marry, army, alarm, harmony, garden, yarn, bard, carl, Sc. airt, cairt, pairt, dairt, caird, chairter, scairsh, Chairlie, mairket, Mairtinmess, gairten, chairge, lairge, cairrie, mairrie, airmie, alairm, hairmenie, gairdin, yairn, baird, cairl.

AR in a few words is *ar*, *aar*: bar, par, war, hard, farce, warm, warran' *warrant*, barrel, marl, snarl, barley, garlic, lar' (*laar*) *lard*.

Eng. A long with its name sound, before a consonant and *e* mute, is in the S. Sc. dialect *ea*, in the others a close variety of *ai* (*e* or *i*); tale, face, mane, state, save, paste, paling, taken, waken, S. Sc. teale, feace, meane, steate, seave, peaste, pealin, teane, weaken.

α If the consonant be *r* or *ng* the opener *ai*, *ay* is used, and *fare*, *care*, *hare*, *ware*, *range*, *change*, *manger*, *angel*, *danger*, are fayr, cayr, hayr, wayr, rainge, chainge, mainger, aingel, dainger. So *ladle*. Sc. laidle. So with z, v, (dh): *Craze*, *wave*, *bathe*, crayze, wayve, baythe.

β *Blaze*, *mare*, *hazel*, take *ee*, bleeze, meir, heezel.

γ *Dare* takes *aa*, daar.

δ *Scare*, *cradle*, *trade*, take *æ*, skær, cræddle, træd.

Eng. AI is in Sc. *ai*, *ay*: air, fair, hair, raise, faith; bait, wait, hail, sail, pain. Sc. ayr, fayr, hayr, rayze, fayth; with short vowel bäĭt, wäĭt, häĭl, säĭl, päĭn. *Chain*, *strain*, *maintain*, *con-tain*, and *complain*, take *ei*, chein, streind, mentein, contein, complein.

Fail, *again*, take *ea*, feale, ageane.

Chair takes the diphthong *ey* or *aiy*, cheyre, chaiyer.

Eng. AY is usually *ay*: say, fray, gray, day, lay, play, etc.

But the following take the diphthong *aiy*: aye, clay, gay, hay, May, stay, way; Sc. aiy, claiy, gaiy, haiy, Maiy, staiy, waiy. *Ay!* makes æy!

Eng. AUGH is in S. Sc. *auwch* (in Central dialects *aach*); laugh, haugh, haughty, laughter; Sc. lauwch, hauwch, hauwchtie, lauwchter. *Daughter*, Ags. dóhtor, is generally *dowchter*.

Eng. E long, followed by a consonant and *e* mute, and EE medial, are in Sc. *ee*, *ei*, as in here, seethe, freeze, deer, complete, seek, seen, beet, peel; Sc. heer, seethe, freeze, deer; *with a*

short vowel, compleit, seik, sein, beit, peil (komplit·, sik, sin, bit, pil).

Where is quhayr, *there* is theare, so also some words of French origin in *e-e*, as *sincère*, *theme*, *scene*, *scheme*, *revere*; Sc. synceare, theame, sceane, skeame, reveare.

Eng. E, EA, EE final (in most of the Sc. dialects *ee*), in S. Sc. *ey* diphthong, as be, he, me, we, sea, tea, pea, see, tree, bee, knee, flee, free; S. Sc. bey, hey, mey, wey, sey, tey, pey, sey, trey, bey, k'ney, fley, frey.

Eng. E in an open syllable under the accent, in words of *classical origin*, is regularly *eae*. Most of these words have in French *é* acute, with which they were originally pronounced, also, in Scotch, and probably in English; in modern English they have become either *ē*, in me, (ii) or *ė* in yet (e). The S. Scottish sound is the acute *é* in its passage into Eng. *ee*. Thus *heathen*, *Venus*, *second*, *deceive*, were once *haythen*, *Vaynus*, *saicond*, *desayve*; they are now in Eng. *heethen*, *Veenus*, *sēcond*, *deceeve*; in the dialect of Southern Scotland *heathen*, *Veanus*, *seacond*, *deceave* (ʜíəthən, víənəs, síəkənt, disíiəv.

So in deist, deity (díi·ətí) désert, dexterity, element, elephant (i'lífənt), emery, ephemera (i'fíəm·ərə), equal equi-, female, feminine (fí'm·ənin), genial, genius (dzhí'n·əs), generous, heretic, hero, idea (idíi'), ingenious, memory, merit, penetrate, penitent, period (píər·iəd), petrel, real (ríəl), schedule (in *Lyndesay*, cedull), secret, series, serious, seraph, segment, several, skeleton (skíəlitən), superior, telegraph, venerable, veteran, etc.

In proper names: Eve, Ephraim, Hebrew, Hebron, Enoch, Ephesus, Herod, Cæsar, Euphémia, Phémie, Telfer (*Fr.* Taillefer).

With Latin or Greek prefixes: desert, depute, decent, delicate, decimal, decorate, dedicate, etc., eminent, elevate, educate, elegant, elegy, egotist, edict, epoch, etc., epicure, epitaph, epic, etc.; present, preface, president, prelacy, prejudice, etc.; recent, recreant, reprobate, refuge, regal, rebel, regiment, reconcile (ri'kənsil·), record, regular, relish, revolution, etc.; secret, separate, secretary, second, senate, several, sepulchre, etc. Unaccented, the prefixes are as in English, se-cede, de-sert, re-pent. When followed by *two* consonants the sound is *æ*, as desperate, destitute, dæsperet, dæstituit.

In *benefit*, *precious*, *discretion*, the sound is *ai*, bainefeit, praishius, dyscrayshen.

Eng. E short (e), in a closed syllable, is regularly represented by *æ* (Pal. æ), in other dialects (ɛ) the French *é* circumflex, as bed, egg, best, let, pen, hem, pet, settle, restless, send, less, sell, pest, vent, direct, rest, pellet, scent, tent, venture, test, mend, text; S. Sc. bæd, ægg, bæst, læt, pæn, hæm, pæt, sættle, ræstless, sænd, læss, sæll, pæst, vænt, deræck, ræst, pællet, sænt, tænt, vænter, tæst, mænd, tæxt.

α The following have *y* (the South English *e* in yet), bless, yes, yet, chest, stench, get; Sc. blyss, yys, yyt (Old Sc. *yhis*, *yhit*), kyst, stynk, gytt or geate.

β These have *ei* (i): well *bene*, wet, *v.* and *n.* jet, red, spread, next, stretch, quest, arrest, lest, rest (to be restive as a horse), crest. Sc. weill, weit, jeit, reid, spreid, neixt or neist, streik, queist, arreist, leist, reist, creist.

γ The following have *à* (*a*), wet, *adj.* well (fons), wedge, west, wed, wedding, web, welt, wealth, wretch, when, then, wedder, weapon. Sc. wàt, wàll, wàdge, wàst, wàd, wàddein, wàb or wòb, wàlt, wàlth, w'ràtch, quhàn, thàn, wàther, wàppen.

δ The following have *ai* (*e*), them, welcome, wench, quench, French, Welsh, hench, tench, wrench, vengeance, avenge, Benjamin, plenty, question; thaim, wailcum, wainsch, quainsch, frainsch, Wailsh, hainsch, tainsch, w'rainsch, vaingence, avainge, Bainjamein, plaintie (or plæntie), quaistein.

Eng. ER final, or in a closed syllable, is generally *ær*; as stern, concern, prefer, err, deter, certain, serpent, serve, divert, merle, Merlin, yerk, nerve, mercy. Sc. stærn, conzærn, prefær, ærr, detær, cærten, særpent, særr, devært, mærl, Mærlein, yærk, nærv, mærcie.

α In a number of words from the French it is *ear*, as in *herb*, *perch*, *term*, *terse*, *verse*, *pert*, *exert*, *insert*, *insertion*, *disconcert*, *desert*, *sergeant*, *assert*. Sc. earb (Compl. of Scot. *eirb*), pearch, tearm, tearse, vearse, peart, exeart, ynseart, ynseartion, dysconceart, dezeart, seargent, asseart.

β In *clerk*, *merchant*, *alert*, and when rep. an Ags. *ea*, as *fern*, it is *ai*; Sc. clairk, mairchant, alairt, fairn.

γ In *her* it is *y*; Sc. hyr.

Eng. EA before R, Z, V, without succeeding consonant, is in Sc. *ee* long; hear, clear, dear, tear, wear, bear, pear, please, tease, leave, weave, heave, teazle. Sc. heer, cleer, deer, teer, weer, beer, peer, pleeze, teeze, leeve, weeve, heeve, teezle.

Eng. EA before R, with a following consonant, is in Sc. *ea*; earl, earth, beard, learn, search, pearl, hearse; Sc. (*iər'l, iərth, biərd*), etc. *Heart, hearth, hearken*, take *æ*; hært, hærth, hærken.

Eng. EA before other consonants is in Sc. *ei*; bead, head, dead, lead (*v.* and *n.*), peace, breast, feast, beast, least, mean, lean, speak, eat, peat, heap, meal *flour*, seal, bleach, leaf, deaf, read *pres. t.*, spread, pleasure. Sc. beid, heid, deid, leid, peice, breist, feist, beist, leist, mein, lein, speik, eit, peit, heip, meil, seil, bleitch, leif, deif, reid, spreid, pleisur.

α The following have *ea*: threat (*thriət*), death, deal, heal, meal *repast*, wean; and several words of French origin, as beat, feat, seat, real, heathen, pheasant (*fiəzən*), creature, feature (*fiətər*), theatre, reason, season, treason (*triəz·n*).

β The following have *ay, ai*: weak, breathe, breath, neat, endeavour, weasel. Sc. wayk, braythe, braith, nait, endaiver, wayzel.

γ These have *y*: great, break, measure, heavy. Sc. gryt, bryk, myzzer, hyvvie.

δ These have æ: health, leather, feather, heather, knead, tread, treadle, leaven, breakfast, treasure, the preterites read, spread. Sc. hælth, læther, fæther, hæther, næd, træd, træddle, læven, brækfest, træsur, ræd, spræd.

ε These have *à*: wealth, weather. Sc. wàlth, wàther.

ζ One has the diphthong *ȳ* (*ai*), *treacle*, Old Eng. triacle, Sc. trȳkle (*traik'l*), Gaw. Douglas, *tryakill*.

Eng. EI, EY are in Sc. usually *ai, ay*: either, neither, their, they, survey, vein, veil, heir, leisure. Sc. aither, naither, thayr, thay, survay, vain, vail, ayr, layser, Old Fr. laysir.

α In several French words it is *ea*: conceive, conceit, deceive, receive, receipt, etc., seisin or sasine. Sc. conceave (Douglas *consayve*), conceat, deceave, receave, receat, seasin.

β *Rein*, takes *ei*, rein or reind(rin).

γ *Key* takes the diphthong *ey*, key (kei).

EIGH is in Sc. *ey, eych, æych: weigh*, wey; *height, sleight*, heycht, sleycht; *eight, weight*, æycht, wæycht.

EU, EW, in Sc. euw (*əw*), feud, feu, few, new, yew, hewn, Ewen, Europe, S. Sc. feuwd, feuw, feuw, neuw, yeuw, heuwn, Euwen, Euwrope (*əurop*).

I short in a stopped syllable (or before R) is regularly represented by *y*, as hill, sit, middle, thistle, first, fir, firm, dirt, third. Sc. hyll, syt, mydˈdle, thrys'le, fyrst, fyrr, fyrm, dyrt, thyrd. A preceding *w* changes the sound to *u*, as will, wit, window, wisp, witness, whin, whip. Sc. wull, wut, wunda, wusp, wutness, whun, whup. In wing, wicked, whig, swink, swill, the *y* sound remains. *Swim* is *soom*.

I short, in words of French and classical extraction, but also in many of Ags. origin, is represented by ĕī, ēē, as city, civil, cylinder, pill, sick, wick, wig, critic, pity, split, drip, jig, rig, drill, skill, whim, pin, whisht, finish, guinea, pinion, Britain, the terminations -ition, -itious, -ician; Sc. cĕītie (siti), ceevel (siiˑv'l), ceilender, peil, seik, weik, weig, creitic, peitie, spleit, dreip, jeig, reig, dreill, skeil, quheim, prein, quheisht, feinish (finish), geinie, peinien, Breiten (britən), poseition, suspeicius (səspishˑiəs).

I, with its long or name sound, in Ags. words, however expressed in spelling, is in a *closed* syllable, usually expressed by ey (ei) before a voice consonant, liquid or nasal, inclining in the Southern Counties to *aiy, aye* (*əi*), in the centre of Scotland to *uy* (*əi*). Pipe, write, dyke, mice, wife, hide, rise, wives, blithe, mile, wine, rhyme, fire. Sc. peype (peip), wˈreyte, deyke, meyce, weyfe, heyde (həid, hæid), reyse, weyves, bleythe, meyle, weyne, reyme, feyre (fəier):

But the words *bind, blind, find, hind*, adj. *behind, grind, wind*, which have long *i* in Southern English, have a short vowel in the dialects north of the Humber; they are in Scotch *bynd, blynd, fynd, hynt, ahynt, grynd, wund. Like, likely*, are often *lyk, lyklie*.

In most words of French or Classical origin this long *I* is in Sc. represented by ee, ēī (ii, i), polite, site, cite, type, oblige, chastise, baptize, civilize, advertise, -ment, friar, briar, miser, library, invite; malign, benign, condign. Sc. (politˑ, sit, sit, tip, oblidzh, tshæstiizˑ, bəptiizˑ, siivəliizˑ, ədvərtiizˑ, -mənt,

friir, briir, mii·zər, lib·rər*i*, ənvit· ; mæleq·, bineq·, kondeq·.

I long (however written), when final, or in an *open* syllable, is represented by the diphthong ȳ (*ai*, oi), as lie, *jacere*, tie, pie, vie, by *of place*, buy, cry, dye, dry, fry, ply, pry, rye, shy, sty, spy, sky, try, wry, and their inflections or compounds, lies, tied, fried, etc.; dial, dyer, trial, phial, denial, crier, defiant, giant, lion, riot, pliant, etc.; also in the words, *five*, *size*; *sigh* is seych or sȳe. Sc. lye (lai), tye, pye, etc.; lȳes, tȳed, frȳed, etc.; dy-al, (dai-əl), dy-er, try-al, etc.; fȳve, sȳze (faiv, saiz).

In lie *mentri*, die, thigh, eye, fly, by *of the agent*, the Southern dialect has ey (ei), the others ee (ii). S. C. ley, dey, they, ey, fley, bey, Central lee, dee, thee, ee, flee, bee. *High* is in the S. C. heych, hey or hȳe, in Central Sc. hych, or hee; *highland*, heelant or heelan'.

IGH is regularly *eych* (ekjh), in other dialects *ych* (ekh), as neycht, reycht. *Fight* is fæycht, fècht. *High*, *thigh*, and *sigh* (see above).

IE medial in Sc. *ee*, *ei*: pier; grieve, thief, chief, field, friend, fiend. Sc. peer, greeve, theif, cheif, feild, freind (frind), feind *or* feint (fint). Before R and another consonant it is *ea*: pierce, fierce. Sc. pearce, fearce.

Eng. O, OA, OE, representing Ags. á, is in Sc. replaced by *ea* (usual orthography *ae*, *a-e*): so, go, wo, who, two, toe, sloe, bone, stone, broad, load, toad, one, none, no, ghost, cloth, whole, foam (Ags. swâ, gâ, hwâ, twâ, bân). Sc. seae, geae, weae, quheae, tweae, teae, sleae, beane, steane, breade, leade, teade, eane, neane, neae, gheast, cleath, heale, feame.

α When followed by *r*, and in verbal preterites the vowel is *ai*: more, sore, lord; wrote, road, shone, rose Ags. mâr, wrât, etc.). Sc. mayr, sayr, layrd; wrait, raid, schain, rayse.

β *Spoke*, *broke* (Ags. spæc, bræc) are *spâk*, *brâk*.

Eng. O, OA, OE, representing Ags. ó, u, is in Sc. *ui* (ə): to, do, ado, done, board, hoard, ford, broth, shoe, bore, swore, shore *did shear*, whore, smother, love, above, oven. Ags. tó, dó, dón, hórd, swór, etc. Sc. tui, dui, adui, duin, bruid, huird, fuird, brui, schui, buir, swuir, schui, huir, smuir, luive, abuin, uin. So in *coral*, *doleful*, *move*, *prove*, *Home*, *Scone*. Sc. cuiral, duilfû, muive, pruive, huim, skuin.

α These have in Sc. *u* (ɐ): brother, come, comely, monger, mongrel, monk, monkey, month, mother, other poppy (*Ags.* pópig), rob, robber, sloven, some, son, sponge, tongue, ton, woman, won, wont, wonder, word, worm, worn, worry, worsted, wort, *and sometimes* wolf; and in the following, not of Ags. origin: colour, company, donkey, dromedary, forage, form *a bench*, front, lodge, money, pommel. Sc. bruther, cum, cumlie, mung-er, mung-rel, munk, munkey, munth, muther, uther, puppy, rub, rubber, sluwen, sum, sun, spunge, tung, tun, wuman, wun, wunt, wunder, wurd, wurm, wurn, wurrie, wurset, wurt, wuff or 'oolf, culler, cumpanie, dunkie, drumedary, furrige, furm, frunt, ludge, munnie, pummel.

β These have *y*: *dozen*, *honey*, *onion*, *cover*. Sc. *dyzzen*, *hynnie*, *yngun*, *kĕver* rhyming with Eng. *ever*.

γ *Bosom* has *uo*, *buosem*.

Eng. O before *ng* (rep. Ags. aŋg), is in Sc. *à*: long, song, strong, wrong, throng, among. Sc. làng, stràng, w'ràng, thràng, amàng. *Tongs* and *thong*, older *tàngs*, *thwang hwang*, now oftener *taings*, *hwaing* or *taiyngs*, *hwaiyng*. So the proper name *Laing* for *Lang*.

Eng. OA, or O followed by a consonant and *e* mute, from other sources (*i.e.* Ags. open *o* not ó, or classical *o*) is most commonly *uo*: coat, coal, roast, toast, drone, hone, John, hope, sole *of the foot*, vote, bank-note, close *adj.*, close *vb.*, rose *flower*, dose, suppose, compose, drove *n.* S.Sc. cuot, cuole, ruost, tuost, druone, huone, Juone, huope, suole, vuote, nuote, cluoss; *with long vowel* cluoze, ruoze, duoze, suppuoze, compuoze, druove.

α But a large number of words, including almost all those of recent adoption, have the open *ò*, *oa*: boast, clove, coax, coach, coast, code, coke, cone, cope, cove, croak, crone, float, grove, hose, host, joke, loam, oath, ode, pole, pope, post, probe, prose, quote, road, roam, roan, rogue, rove, scope, slope, sloth, soak, stroke, toll, tone, troth, vogue, yoke, de-pone. Sc. bòst, cloave, etc.

β In *hoe*, *pony*, the diphthong *ow* is used: *howe* (French *houe*) pòwny.

Eng. O, open medial, has usually the

open ò or *oa*: broken, bother, Colony, covet, crocus, promise, Roman, soda, sofa, modern, etc. Sc. brôken, bôther, or bòdder, etc.

It is difficult to say whether, in this position, *o* is long or short; it seems to have a kind of medial quantity which may be lengthened or shortened, according to the feeling of the speaker.

The close sound *uo* is found in body, bodice, bogle, closet, covey, crozier, frozen, monument, positive, posy, rosin, soldier, story, open, stoic. Sc. buodie, buodiee, būōgle or bōōgle, cluoset, cuovie, cruozier, fruozen, muoniment, puosetive, puosie, ruoset, suodger, stuorie, uopen, stuoic (*stuu*'ik).

Eng. O shut (ɔ), is in Sc. usually o short: bottom, bottle, box, cod, doll, fodder, fox, goblet, honour, post, rotten, bolt, toss, ostler, flog, clock. Sc. bòddum, bòttle, bòx, etc.

The close *uo* occurs in bog, bonny, cog, cost, cot, folk, frost, lost, sop, sod. Sc. buog, buonnie, cuog, cuost, cuot, fuok, fruost, luost, suop, suod.

Eng. O followed by *r* has the close *uo* in the following words: bore, fore, score, snore, born, corn, horn, forlorn, morn, -ing, scorn, shorn, Lorn, torn, thorn, border, cord, lord, sword, force, forge, fortune, north, port, porter, report, portion, portly, portent, short, sort, sport, storm, George, story. Sc. buore, fuore, scuore, buorn, buorder, etc.

In almost all other words the open ò *oa*, is used: or, for, core, gore, store, order, corner, cornet, corporal, corpse, cork, roar, oar, boar, scorpion, seashore, soar, snort, stork, torment, form, world, tory, sorrow, borrow, horrid, sorry, etc. Sc. (foor, koor, goor, ordər, kornər), etc.

Work, *worse*, *worst*, and sometimes *world*, take *à*: wàrk, waar, warst, warld.

Eng. OLL final, OL medial, is in Sc. usually the diphthong *òw* (ou): boll, hollow, knoll, poll, roll, colt, yolk, golf, solder. Sc. bowe, howe, knowe, powe, rowe, cowt, yowk, gowf, sowder. *Folk*, *soldier*, are in S. Sc. *fuok*, *suodger*. *Doll*, *toll*, *poll*, *stroll*, *bolt*, have short ò: dòll, tòll, etc.

Eng. OLD is *auld*: bold, cold, fold, hold, sold, told. Sc. baald, caald, faald, haald, saald or sæld, taald or tæld. *Scold* is *scoald*; *gold* in Central Sc. gowd, in Southern Counties more commonly *goold*.

Eng. OI, OY, is in S. Sc. *oy* (oi): boil, spoil, oil, employ. Sc. boyl, spoyl, oyl, employ. (See page 116.)

Eng. OO is in Sc. *ui*, French *eu* (ø): stool, soon, door, floor, doom, moon, book, took, stood, blood, good, flood. Sc. stuil, suin, duir, fluir, duim, muin, buik, tuik, stuid, bluid, guid, fluid.

The following have *oo*: woo, wool, cuckoo, boon, ooze, groove, loop, room, tròop.

With *u*: *wood*, Sc. *wud*. With *y*: *foot*, Se. *fyt*; in some dialects *fut*; 16th century *fute*, *fuit*. With *uo*: *brooch*, Sc. *bruotch*. With *ow*: *loose*, Sc. *lòwse* vb., *lowss* adj. With *oy*: *choose*, S. Sc. *choyse*; French *choisir*.

Eng. OU, OW, representing Ags. *ú* or French *ou*, *eu*, are in Sc. *oo*: our, pour, hour, sour, power, flower, flour, tower, bower; out, mouse, soup, about, sound, brown, drown, crowd, house. Sc. oor, poor, oor, soor, poor, floor, floor, toor, boor; with short *oo*, oot (ut), mooss, soop, aboot, soond, broon, droon, crood, hooss.

α When final the sound is in South Sc. *uw* (ɐu), in other dialects *oo*, as in *you*, *cow*, *now*, a *sow*, to *bow*; S. Sc. yuw, cuw, nuw, suw, buw; also in open syllables, as *bow-el*, *trow-el*, *tow-el*, *cow-ard*, *gru-el*; S. Sc. buwel, truwel, tuwel, cuward, gruwel; Central Sc. booel, tooel, trooel, etc.

β The past participles *bound*, *found*, *ground*, *wound*, take short u (ɐ), as do also *ground*, *hound*, *pound*, *mount*, *mountebank*, *mountain*, *fount*, *fountain*, *ounce*, *pounce*, *flounce*, *poultice*, *cloud*, *touch*, *trouble*, *couple*, *scourge*, *bourn*, *mourn*, *journal*, *journey*, *flourish*, *nourish*, *Southernwood*, *young*, *younker*, although some of these have an older form in *oo*, or a newer in *ow*: Sc. bun', fund, grun', wun'; grund, hund hoond, pund, funt, funten, munt, munten, *also* pownd, etc., muntibank, unce, punce, flunce, *also* pownce, flounce, pultess, clud, tutch, truble, cuple, scurge, burn, murn, jurnal, jurnie, flurish, nurish. *Bound*, to spring, to limit, and its derivatives *boundary*, *boun'-tree*, or elder, etc., to *found*, *founded*, etc., to *wound*, *wounded*, follow the usual rule *boond*, *foond*, *'oond*, and are thus distinguished from the participles of *bind*, *find*, *wind*.

γ In the following the Sc. has *ui*:

sprout, country, cousin, should, could. Sc. spruit, cuintrie, cuisin, suid, cuid.

δ *Would*, Ags. *walde*, is in Sc. *wald*, *wad*.

Eng. OW, OU, representing an Ags. oʒa, ow, is in Sc. *ȯw* (ou); bow, *to shoot with*, glow, grow, row *a mêlée*, *remigere*, stow, tow, trow, bowl, growl, jowl, prowl, soul, troul, four, fourth, fourteen, glower, flown, grown. Sc. bowe, glowe, growe, rowe, stowe, towe, trowe, bowle, growle, jowle, prowle, sowle (also sauwl, saal), trowle, fowre, fowrt, fowrtein, glowre, flȯwn, grȯwn. *Dower* makes *towcher*.

Eng. OW, representing Ags. *aw*, is in Sc. long *aa*, usually written *aw*, *au*; blow, crow, know, low, row *a rank or line*, mow, show, slow, snow, sow, strow, throw, as well as in their p. ples. blown, mown, sown, etc. Sc. blaa, craa, knaa, laa, maa, raa, schaa, slaa, snaa, saa, straa, blaa'n, maa'n, saa'n. *Low* often retains a guttural form *laigh*, *leawgh*. *Own* (Ags. ázen) is older *auwn*, *aan*, later *ayn*; the verb is *auwn*, owner, *auwner*.

Eng. OUGH is in Sc. usually *owch* (okwh): hough, trough, bought, brought, thought, etc Sc. howch, trowch, bowcht, browcht, thowcht.

α These have *euwch* (ɘkwh): plough *n.* enough *sing.* tough, clough. Sc. pleuwch, aneuwch, teuwch, cleuwch. Plough *vb.*, and enough, enow, *pl.*, drop the guttural *pleuw*, *aneuw*. *Bough* was formerly *beuwch*, *beuw*, rhyming in 16th century with plough; I think it is now *bowe*, but the word is little used.

β These have *uwch* (ɤkwh): rough, swough, brough, through (a flat tombstone, Ags. þruh, a stone coffin,) Sc. ruwch, suwch, bruwch, thruwch.

γ *Dough*, Ags. dáh, makes *daigh*, *deawch*; *through*, which appears very early in the Sc. writers as *thraw*, is now *thruw*, *throo*; *though*, in Middle Sc. *thocht*, is *thô*, as the Mid. Sc. *nocht* is *nô*

Eng. U in a closed syllable is in Sc. *u* (ɤ): but, bush, push, dull, bull, pull, full, much, fur, curl, turn, bulwark, bushel, cushion, pudding. Sc. but, bush (not *boosh*), push, dull, bull (not *booll*), pull, full (also *puw*, *fuw*), muckle, furr, currl, turrn, bullwark, buschel, cuschen, puddin (not poodin).

α The following have *ui*: bluster, cud, cutler, duck, fluster, fusty, gum (of the teeth), gusset, gutter, huddle, hull (a shell or covering), judge, just, rubbish, ruth, stutter, truth, tup. Sc. bluister, cuid, cuitler, duik, fluister, fuisty, guim, guischet, guitter, huiddle, huill, juidge, juist, ruibish, ruith, stuit, truith, tuip; also proper names, as Guthrie, Hutton, Bunyan, Tully. Sc. *Guithrie*, etc.

β The following have short *oo*: butcher, suck, pulpit, thumb, bulk, culm, fuller, pussie, cuckoo, bulge, plum. Sc. bootcher, sook, poopet, thoom, book, coom, fooller, poossie, coo-kóo, boolge, ploom.

γ These have short *y* (e): buzz, church, churn, nut, put, run, snub. Sc. byzz, kyrk, kyrn, nyt, pyt, ryn, snyb. In more northern dialects this vowel is taken by several other words, muckle, huzzie = housewife, etc., being there *mickel*, *hizzie*.

δ These have long *o*: blur, drug. Sc. bloar, droag; Fr. drogue.

ε *Rush* takes æ: *ræsch*—"Green grow the *rushes*, O!" (grin grou dhə ræshiz oo!)

Eng. U long, before a consonant and *e* mute, is in Sc. *ui*: cure, sure, endure, use, refuse, Bruce, Bute, lute, tune, mule, consume, scruple, yule. Sc. cuir, suir, enduir, uise, *vb.* uiss *no.*, refuise; with short vowel, Bruiss, Buit, luit, tuin, muil, consuim, scruiple, yuil; rule, (Ags. riwle) is reuwl.

This Scotch *ui* is usually said to be the same as the French *u*. It may have been so in the 16th century, but is certainly not now. Prince L. L. Bonaparte "has not heard the true French *u* in any part of Scotland; the sound so described is either the Fr. *eu*, or something between *eu* and *u*." In the Southern Counties *ui* is simply the French *eu* in *peu*.

Eng. U long in an open syllable, and UE final, are in Sc. *euw* (ɘu): fuel, blue, due, rue, imbue. Sc. feuwel, bleuw, deuw, reuw, embeuw. So Hugh, Sc. Heuw. But in an open syllable it is often *uw*, as jewel, duel, gruel, cruel, truant, S. Sc. juwel, duwel, gruwel, cruwel, truwan(d).

Eng. UI is in Sc. *ui* (ɘ): fruit, recruit, build, built, bruise. Sc. (frɘt, rikrɘt, bɘld, bɘlt, brɘɘz). In *guild*, *guilt*, *quit*, etc., where the *u* belongs to the consonant, the sound is of course *y*, gyld, gylt, quyt. *Juice* is usually *joyce*.

GRAMMAR

OF THE

SOUTHERN SCOTTISH DIALECT.

OF NOUNS.

The Plural Number.

Of the eight or nine plural forms used in Anglo-saxon, the Lowland Scotch preserves four: plurals in *s*, plurals in *n*, plurals in the *Umlaut* or modified vowel, and plurals the same as the singular. In one word we have a vestige of a fifth form in *-er*. The form in *s*, confined in Anglo-saxon, semi-Saxon, and Old Southern English to masculine nouns ending in a consonant, now embraces the vast majority of all nouns.

As early as the date of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses, the Northumbrian shewed a tendency to extend the *s* plural to nouns of all genders and declensions.[1] By 1250 this tendency was quite established in the northern tongue, the plural forms in Cursor Mundi and Hampole being almost identical with those of the living northern dialects, while the contemporary southern dialects continued to exhibit the utmost variety of forms, with a marked predilection for those in *-en*. It is due apparently to the early preponderance of the northern dialect that *s* and not *n* is the common English termination of the plural at the present day.

Plural in -S.

This plural, representing the Ags. *-as*, Lind. and Rush. *-as*, *-es*, Ormulum *-ess*, Cursor Mundi and Hampole, *-es*, *-s* (sometimes *-is*, *-ys*), was regularly formed by the Scottish writers down to the 17th century in *-is* or *-ys* (rarely *-es* and *-s*). The modern dialects retain the connecting vowel only where the

[1] See instances cited by Dr. R. Morris, Introduction to "Early English Homilies," pp. lv, lvi.

pronunciation demands it, viz., after the sibilant sounds of *-s*, *-z*, *-sh*, and *zh* (however these may be written).

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
làss	làssis	fysch	fyschis
feace	feacis	wutch	wutchis
fòx	fòxis	juidge	juidgis
bleeze, *blaze*	bleezis	nuose	nuosis

In all other cases *-s* only is used:

1. *With the sound of* s. 2. *With the sound of* z.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
kyrk, *church*	kyrks	ægg, *egg*	æggs	luim, *loom*	luims
sauch, *sallow*	sauchs	laad, *lad*	laads	loon, *rascal*	loons
cloot, *clout*	cloots	sceythe, *scythe*	sceythes	ryng, *ring*	ryngs
smyth, *smith*	smyths	wob, *web*	wobs	craa, *crow*	craas
tuip, *ram*	tuips	scheyve, *slice*	scheyves	trey, *tree*	treys
luif, *palm* (of hand)	luifs	skuil, *school*	skuils	lowe, *flame*	lowes
leafe, *loaf*	leafes	meyle, *mile*	meyles	keae, *jackdaw*	keaes

NOTE 1.—E mute at the end of a word is elided before *-is*, retained (mute) before *-s*. 2. The final *s* has its own *hissing* sound after a breath consonant; the *z* or buzzing sound after a voice-consonant or vowel. The *z* sound is alone used in the termination *-is*, which differs in its vowel from the Eng. *-es*, being pronounced more like the Eng. *-is*, in *his*, or rather the French *-ise*, in *bise*, *dise*. Examples: treys, æggs, fyschis (treiz, ægz, fesh·iz fesh·iz). In the centre of Scotland the opener *-yz* seems to be the sound, *lassyz*, *fysch-yz* (las·ez, fesh·ez).

3. The *-as*, *-es*, *-ys*, *-is*, originally, of course, formed a distinct syllable in all nouns; although, even in Ags., an increase in the number of syllables was often avoided by ejecting a preceding short vowel, as in engel, fugol, heofon, æcer, fædor, deofol, inflected eng-las, fug-las, heof-nas, æc-ras, fæd-ras, deof-lu, genitive deof-les. If *Cursor Mundi* can be taken as exemplifying the contemporary usage of northern speech, it would appear that in the 13th century the termination was still pronounced as a distinct syllable in monosyllables, although the connecting vowel was already suppressed in longer words.[1] Thus (printing the *-s -es* or *-is* in Italics, where it does not make a separate syllable):—

Als it war dint-*es* on a steþi,
Þat smyth-*es* smitt-*es* in a smeþey.

Þarfor sal þai pined be
With þaa pin-*es* sex and thre.

Firend band-*es* es þe nind.

Nine order*s* of angel*s* þai forsok
Quan þai þam to þe warlau tok.

[1] I say, *If*, etc. The testimony of *Cursor Mundi* is complete as to the fact that the *e* was dropped in words of two or more syllables, not as to its preservation in monosyllables. The pronunciation dint-es, smyth-es, *might be* an archaism retained in poetry, as we shall presently see it was in the Scottish poets of the 16th century.

Felle dragun*s* and tad-*es* bath.

Nathyng sal I fene you neu,
Bot þat I find in bok-*es* treu:
Þir clerk-*es* tell-*es* þat er wise,
Þat he o Ju-us king sal rise,
And ó þe kind man clep-*es* dane.

Ur maister*s* tell-*es* o þis chaunce.

Wind-*es* on ilk side sal rise,
Þe devel*s* ute sal be fordriven.

O nedder*s* bath and of dragun*s*.

In the following century, at least, the evidence of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* (1320–1350) shews that, even in monosyllables, the termination had already sunk into simple *s* in pronunciation, although, according to the lax northern use of *e* mute, *es* was commonly retained in writing. Compare with the above:—

And als smyth*s* strik*es* on yren fast,
Swa þat it brek*es* and brest*es* at last,
Right swa þe devel*s* sal ay ding
On þe sinfulle, with-outen styntyng.

Na clath*es* þai salle have to gang in,
Ne na bedd*es* to lyg in bot vermyn;
Als I haf herd som grete clerk*es* telle.

Þe planet*es* and þe stern*es* ilkane
Sal shyne brighter þan ever þai shane;
Þe son sal be, as som clerk*es* demes,
Seven sythe brighter þan now it semes.

Þir word*es* by þam may be sayd here.
For in this world ligg*is* twa ways.
Þe saul*es* þat to purgatory most wende;
Whilk saul*s* in purgatory duelles.

Þe sevend day byggyn*s* doun sal falle,
And gret castel*s* and tour*s* with-alle;
Ne cragg*es* ne roch*es* sal nan þan be.

And als kyng*es* and qwen*es* coroúned be,
With coroun*es* dight with ryche perré.

This pronunciation also appears in Scottish poets from the middle of the 15th century, *i.e.* in popular poems, short metres, satirical, humorous and lyrical pieces.

Henrysoun:— Hir slev*is* suld be of esperance,
To keip hir fra dispair;
Hir gluv*is* of the gud governance
To hyd hir fyngar*is* fair.

"*Rowll's Cursing*:"—

Blak be thair hour, blak be thair part,
For fyve fat geiss of Sir John Rowl*is*,
With capon*is*, henn*is*, and uther fowl*is*,
Resettar*is* and the privy steilar*is*:
And he that saul*is* saisis and damm*is*,
Beteich the deuill thair gutt*is* and gamm*is*,
Thair toung, thair teith, their hand*is*, thair feit,
And all thair body haill compleit.

Dunbar, *A General Satire*:—

Sa mony lord*is*—sa mony natural ful*is*
That bettir accord*is*, to play thaim at the trul*is*
Nor se the dul*is* that commouns do*is* sustene;
New tane frae scul*is*, sa mony an*is*[1] and mul*is*,
Within this land was never herd nor sene.

The Flyting:— Ersch Katherane, with thy polk breik and rilling,
Thow and thy quene, as gredy gledd*is*, ye gang
With polk*is* to mylne, and begg*is* baith meill and schilling;
Thair is but lyse and lang nail*is* yow amang:
Fowll heggirbald, for henn*is* thus will ye hang,
Thow hes ane perrellus face to play with lamb*is*;
Ane thowsand kidd*is*, wer thay in fald*is* full strang,
Thy lymmerful luke wald fle thame and thair damm*is*.

Christis Kirk of the Grene:—

With fork*s* and flail*s* thay lent grit flapp*is*,
And flang togidder lyk frigg*is*;
With bougar*s* of barn*is* thay beft blew kapp*is*,
Quhyle thay of bern*is* maid brigg*is*;
The reird rais rudely with the rapp*s*
Quhen rung*is* wer layd on rigg*is*;
The wyff*is* cam furth with cry*is* and clapp*is*,
Lo quhair my lyking lig*s*,
Quo thay,
At Christ*is* kirk of the Grene.

But while this was doubtless the pronunciation of prose and living speech (which thus, in some parts at least of the northern area, agreed, as early as 1340, with that of the present day), we find an entirely different usage in sustained poetry, such as the *Brus*, Wyntown's *Cronykil*, Douglas's *Eneid*, the *Kings Quair*, the chief poems of Dunbar, etc. An examination of the metres of these poets shews that, in the early period of Scottish literature, the *-is* or *-ys* (pronounced as in abb-*ess*, or German kind-*es*), formed a distinct syllable in monosyllables and words accented on the final syllable, and even in dissyllables not finally accented, where it could be done without increasing the length of the word (*i.e.* by dropping a preceding short vowel as in Anglo-Saxon). Thus: *feld-ys*, *best-ys*, *day-is*, *fa-yss*, *knycht-ys*, *sown-yss*, *aspéct-is*, *honoúr-is*, *palzeown-is* = fields, beasts, days, foes, knights, sons, aspects, honours, pavilions; while *fadyr*, *modyr*, *dochtyr*, *wappyn*, *tabyl*, *hevyn*, *saddill*, *mastyr*, *wondir*, *takyn*, *mayor*, *baron*, made *fad-rys*, *mod-rys*, *docht-rys*, *wap-nys*, *tab-lis*, *sad-lys*, *mast-rys*, *wond-ris*, *tak-nys*, *ma-rys*, *bar-nys*, indicating this as the pronunciation even when the vowel was retained in writing, as *baronys*, *wappynys*. Where the preceding vowel could not be suppressed, as in *husbandis*, *ragmentis*, the termination was probably treated as *-s* only; at least, no additional syllable was recognized. Words ending in a sibilant have of course always made a syllable of the *-is*, *palacis*, *escarmouschis*; though in some words the plural was the same as the singular: *vers*, *burges*,

[1] *anis*, Fr. ânes, asses.

burgeis (see on page 92), *benefyiss*. These rules apply also to the possessive singular, which in all cases followed the analogy of the plural; and partly to the *-is* of the present tense of verbs, although the process of contraction commenced earlier with the latter than with nouns (the inflection being of much less significance in the verb); so that even in the Early period there was an option of pronouncing the verbal *-is* either as *-is* or *-s*.

Barbour, 1375.

For luff is off sa mekill mycht,
Þat it all payn-ys mak-is lycht.

Till arm-ys, swyth! and mak*ys* ȝow ȝar,
Her at oure hand our fay-is ar

Knicht-is Þat wicht and hardy war,
Undyr horss feit defoulyt Þar!

Þe king Robert wyst he was Þar
And quhat-kyn chiftan*ys* with him war.

Þir angr-ys may I ne mar drey.

Þan ma-yss clerk-is questioun
Quhen Þai fall in disputacioun.

Fredom may*ss* man to haiff liking.

Þay sped Þaim intyll hy to ride,
Þe ta part to Þair pailyown-is
The tothyr part went in Þe town is.

Wyntown, 1410.

Of his gud ded-is and manheid
Gret gest-is, I heard say, ar made;
But sa mony, I trow nowcht,
As he intil his day-is wroucht.

All Þir land-ys, as Þai ly,
I have ourhalyd hastily.

Of lord-is Þat mast mychty wes,
Þaire eldast barn-ys and Þare ayr-is
Of erl-ys, baron-ys, and of mar-ys: (bar'n-ys?)

Sown-yss sex and dowchtr-ys twa
Of Þir sownn-ys, thre of Þa.

Men and wemen, nobl-is grete
And of Þai schypp-ys mastr-ys thre
Happenyd at anis to drownyd be.

Yhit is Þare odyr Autor-ys sere, (Autor's or Aut'rys.)
Þat tell-is part of Þis matere.

Þan (1116) Trent and Tamys war sa schalde,
Þat a barne of twelf yhere awlde
Mycht wayd oure Þame, and na spate,
Þat mycht mak Þaire kney-is wate.

James I., 1420.—

This is to seyne, that present in that place,
Me thocht I saw of every nacion,
Louer*is* that endit [had] thaire lyf-is space.
In lov-is service mony a mylion,
Of quho-is chanc-is maid is mencion
In diverse buk-is, quho thame list to se,
And therefore here thaire nam-ys lat I be.

Harry the Minstrel, 1460 :—[1]

Born Scott-*is* men baid still in to the field,
Kest wappyn*ys* thaim, and on thar kne-is kneild,
With petouss voice thai cryt apon Wallace,
For Godd-is saik to tak thaim in his grace.

Henrysoun, 1470 :— In his passage amang the planet*is* all,
He herd a hevynly melody and sound,
Passing all instrument-*is* musicall
Causid be mowyng of the sper-is round.

Merser :— Heirfoir I pray in term-ys schort,
Chryst keip thir bird-is bricht in bowris,
Fra fals luvar*is* and thair resort;
Sic perell lyis in paramouris.

In the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, the *-is*, although still generally making an independent syllable in monosyllables, or after a final accent, had quite sunk into *-s* in other words of two or more syllables. Even in writing, *s* alone began to appear. Monosyllables ending in a *vowel* or *diphthong* made an additional syllable or not, of the inflectional *-is*, at the pleasure of the poet. So *kyng-is*, *bour-is*, *hour-is*; but *faderis*, *wappinis*, were = faders, wappyns, no longer fad-rys, wapp-nys. *Treis*, *seyis*, *dayis*, were optionally tre-is, sey-is, day-is or trees, seys, days.

Lancelot of the Laik, 1490 :—

He saw the knycht-is semblyng her and thare,
The sted-is rynnyng with the sadill*is* bare;
His spur-is goith in to the sted-is syde,
Þat was full swyft, and lykit not to byd(e). 2951.

Dunbar, 1500 :—

Celestial fowl-is in the air,
Sing with your nott-is upon hicht,
In firth-is and in forest*is* fair
Be mirthful now at all your micht.

Full angel-like thir bird-is sang thair houris,
Within thair courtyn*s* grene, in to thair bouris,
Apparalit quhite and red wyth blom-es suete;
Anamalit was the felde wyth all colouris,
The perly dropp-is schuke in siluir schouris,
Quhill all in balme did branch and lev-is fleete.

Douglas, 1513 :—

The batell*is* and the man I will descryve,
Fra Troy-is bound-is first that fugitive.

And eke the fader*is*, princ-is of Albá
Come, and the waller*is* of gret Rome alsua.

The Grek-is chiftan*is* irkit of the were.

Cauchit and blaw wide quhare all sey*is* about.

Abufe the sey-is lift-is furth his hede.

[1] The usage of Harry is far from uniform; being, according to his own account, an uneducated "bureil man" or rustic, he often mixes the poetic measure with the style of vulgar speech.

This pronunciation of the *-is* was, I suppose, like that of the French *e mute* in poetry or solemn oration, or of the English *-ed*, in *passèd*, *lovèd*, *carrièd*, the echo of an older utterance, conventionally retained in that poetic style apparently referred to by Montgomery—

> "I pass to poetis, to compyle
> In hich heroick staitlie style,
> Quhais Muse surmatches myne.[1]

Its co-existence with that of ordinary speech was no doubt a great boon to 'Makaris' distressed by a redundant or deficient syllable, for, in conjunction with the laxity of accentuation which prevailed in words of French or classical origin, it enabled them, *e.g.* to call themselves *pó-ets* in two syllables or *po-ét-is* in three. By the middle of the 16th century the prose pronunciation had so far made way, that even in sustained poetry, the retention or dropping of the connecting vowel was quite optional, giving the poet the same power of choice as is the case in modern German with final *e* and the terminations *-es*, *-est*, *-et*, *-ete*. Thus in contiguous lines of the first book of Lyndesay's *Dialog of the Monarché* (written 1553–4) we find—

Nor tell quhen thay had Sonn-is two,	
Cayn and Abell, and no mo.	l. 1145
Nor of thare murnyng nor thare mone,	
Quhen thay, but Sonn*is*, wer left allone.	1149
Wyld beist-is did to thame repair,	
So did the Fowl-is of the air.	807
And brocht be Diuyne prouience,	
All beist*is* and byrd*is* tyll his presence.	731
Heiryng the byrd-is armoneis	
Taistyng the fruct*is* of diverse treis.	827
Quhow fruct-is indeficient	
Ay alyke rype and redolent.	847
Had Sanct Jerome bene borne in tyll Argyle	
In to Yrische toung his buk*is* had done compyle.	627
Quhairfore I wald all buk-is necessare	
For our faith war in tyll our toung vulgare.	600
Of Languagis the first Diuersytie	
Wes maid he Godd-is Maledictioun.	588
Quhy brak thow Godd*is* Commandiment?	
Quhow mycht thy forfalt he excusit	
That Godd*is* commandiment refusit.	966–72

Still later in the century the syllabic pronunciation of the *-is* became quite obsolete, even in long measures, and the "hich heroick staitlie style" became entirely conformed to the usage of ordinary speech, which is also followed by the poets of the modern period. In the "Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie," of King James VI. (Edinb., 1585, republished

[1] The Cherrie and the Slae.—Stanza 6.

in Edward Arber's *English Reprints*, 1869), the plural has the modern pronunciation in all the specimens of poetry quoted; even in the verse "Heroicall" the termination is no longer syllabic. It is further noteworthy that, though in his prose the royal author still writes *-is*, in *verse* he writes *-s* only. Thus in "a quadrain of Alexandrin Verse:"

> To ignorants obdurde, quhair wilful errour lyis,
> Nor ȝit to curious folks, quhilks carping dois deiect thee,
> Nor ȝit to learned men, quha thinks thame onelie wyis,
> Bot to the docile bairns of knawledge I direct thee.

But in prose:

"ȝe aucht alwayis to note, that as in thir forsaidis, or the lyke wordis, it rymis in the hinmest lang syllabe in the lyne, althoucht there be vther short syllabis behind it, sa is the hinmest lang syllabe the hinmest fute, suppose there be vther short syllabis behind it, quhilkis are eatin vp in the pronounceing, and na wayis comptit as feit."

The reason of this was, that in prose the termination had long been pronounced as *-s* only, and would be so read, as a matter of course, by every one; but in verse this pronunciation was still comparatively new, so that it was needful to mark it by the spelling. For a similar reason we often see in modern English poetry such spellings as these (which were still commoner a century ago): *pass'd, past, toss'd, tost, fetch'd, fetcht, sooth'd, pain'd, curst, blest, mixt, vext*, not meaning that these words are to be pronounced differently from *passed, tossed, fetched, soothed, pained, cursed, blessed, mixed, vexed*, but that they are to be pronounced *in the prose way*, and not *pass-ed, toss-ed, fetch-ed, sooth-ed, pain-ed, curs-ed, bless-ed, mix-ed, vex-ed*, as they used to be, and still occasionally are, in verse. In prose the contracted spelling is not considered requisite since no one would think of pronouncing otherwise.

In Scottish prose the spelling *-is* long survived the pronunciation. In the dialect of Teviotdale the *Annals of Hawick* shew it in full use in 1600; by 1640 forms in *-es* and *-s* become equally frequent, the same document shewing *personnis, personnes*, and *persons, utheris* and *uthers, mindes* and *minds, quhilkis* and *quhilks;* the forms in *-is* finally disappear about 1660.

A few nouns in *f* change into the corresponding voice-consonant *v* before *-s* (or rather z) of the plural. This usage seems to be recent, for it extends only to a few of the words which undergo the change in English. In the south of Scotland, *Leif, theif, kneyfe, leyfe, weyfe*, usually make the plural *lēives, thēives, knēyves, lēyves, wēyves*; but hàff, leafe (loaf), schælf, ælf, make hàffs, leafes, etc. In the Sc. writers of the 16th century, as in the earlier dialect of Hampole and Cursor Mundi, *f* is usually retained in the plural, as *wyffis, theiffis, lyiffis*; in the more northern dialects of Scotland also, *e.g.* in Aberdeenshire, *leifs, theifs, kneyfs, weyfs, leyfs*, are still the regular forms.

Of the analogous change of *s* and *th* into their voice sounds, *z* and *dh*, in the plural, recognized in the English pronunciation of houses, mouths, truths, etc. (hauzyz, maudhz, truudhz), I do not find any traces in the Scottish dialects.

Beist has pl. *beiss; clease* (or *claise*), clothes, seem to be similarly formed from *cleath, claith*, cloth. There are traces of this pronunciation as early as the 15th century. In "Ratis Raving," l. 2780, we find the rhyme—

> He honor*is* na man for richés,
> For honore is no*cht* gevyne for clai*this*,—

where *richesse* requires *claiss* for the rhyme, as the pronunciation of *claithis*. The modern form would be—

> For honore ys nocht gi'en for claise.

The same forms are found all over the northern area; thus, in the Cleveland dialect, beeäs, cleeäs (the latter being pronounced nearly as in South of Scotland). In South Lancashire (Midl. Dia.) we find clooäs (with which compare Cockney *close*); the South English dialects get over the difficult combination *beasts* by pronouncing beast-es, heard alike in London and in Devonshire.

Plural in -N.

Ee (South Sc. *ey*) eye, makes *ein* (Cumberl., Westmorel., etc. *ēn*); *schui*, shoe, makes *schuin*. To which may be added *oxen* or *owssen*, for which, however, *nowt*, sing. and pl., is more commonly used in this dialect.

It is interesting to note that the same three words, *eghen* or *eyen, schon* or *schoyn*, and *oxyn*, were the only plurals in *-n* retained by the northern dialect in the 13th century,[2] while nearly 200 such forms existed in the southern dialect a century later, including, *e.g. eyen, scheon, oxen, applen, gloven, bellen, unclen, tungen*, etc.,[2] of which Dorsetshire still presents us with *cheesen, housen, pleäcen, vurzen*,[3] and the authorised version of the Bible with *hosen*.

> His haire moutes, his *eghen* rynnes,
> His eres waxes deef, and hard to here.—Hampole, *P. of C.* 780.
>
> His *eyn* with his hand closit he,
> For to dey with mar honeste.—Barbour.
>
> Na *schoyne* þai had
> But as þai þaim of hyd-ys mad.—Barbour.
>
> þai sayd Mackduff, of Fyfe þe Thayne,
> þat ilk yhoke of *oxyn* aucht,
> þat he saw fayle in to þe draucht.—Wyntown.

[1] Dr. R. Morris, Grammatical Introduction to Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*.

[2] Dr. R. Morris, Grammatical Introduction to the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*.

[3] Rev. W. Barnes, Grammar & Glossary of the Dorsetshire Dialect, p. 19.

Plural in -ER.

The only vestige of this class is supplied by the word *childer* (Ags. *cildru*, German, *kinder*), used by all the northern writers from Hampole and Barbour to Lyndesay, Lauder, and the Complaynt of Scotland.

> Maysters some tyme uses the wand,
> Þat has childer to lere undir Þair hand.—*P. of C.*, l. 5881.
>
> To wemen ȝeit we do bot litill ill
> Na ȝong childir we lik for to spill.—Henry, *Wallace.*
>
> He (Ascanius) taucht the auld Latinis to hant sic play,
> The samyn gise as he, ane child, now wrocht,
> And uthir Troiane childer with him brocht;
> The Albanis taucht thair childer the samyn way,
> And mychty Rome sine efter mony ane day.—
> *Gaw. Doug. Eneid.*
>
> Mony auld men maid childer-les,
> And mony childer fatherless.—Lyndesay, *Mon.* 1909.

Than I beheld the scheip-hirdis wyuis and ther childir that brocht there mornyng bracfast to the scheip hirdis.—*Compl. of Sc.*, p. 65.

This word is still in common use in the north of England and many parts of Scotland; but the synonym *bairn*, *bairns*, being generally used in the south of Scotland *cheyld*, *chylder*, have become nearly obsolete. *Cheild*, a young man, a lad, has plural *cheilds*.

Plural in the Umlaut.

The forms in the modern idiom corresponding to the Ags. man, men; fót, fét; cú, cý; are the following:—man, men mæn; wumman, weimen (in Southern Scotch wuimein); guiss, geiss: tuith, teith; fuit, fute, *usually* fyt, feit; bruther, breither; looss, leyss; mooss, meyss; coo (S. Sc. cuw), kye.

These are, I believe, all the *Umlaut* forms that the northern dialect has possessed since the 13th century. See *geiss*, *teith*, and *feit*, in "Roull's Cursing," *ante* p. 152.

Brether, Ags. bréðer is used as the plural of *brother* by all the northern writers. Thus:

Hampole:—
> Suthly I say yhow, swa yhe wroght,
> Þat ilka tyme when yhe did oght,
> Until ane of Þe lest Þat yhe myght se,
> Of my *brether*, yhe did til me.

Barbour:—
> For twa *brether* war in that land,
> That war the hardiest of hand,
> That war in til all that cuntré.

Wyntown:—
> Þe thryd part off Þe land alsua,
> As banysyd wyth hys *breÞyr* twa.
>
> Schortly to say Þe lawchful twa
> *BreÞire* forsuke wyth hym to ga.
>
> And Þat traytour he suld sla,
> Þat banysyd him and his *Bredyr* twa

Dunbar :— Sen he hes al my *brether* tane,
He will not let me live alane,
On forss I maun his neist prey be;
Timor mortis conturbat me !

Lyndesay :— *Brether* in armes, adew in generall !
For me, I wait, ȝour hartis bene full soir.

Cham leuch to se his Father sa,
Quhowbeit his *Brether* wer rycht wa.

Thou repreifis and accusis me of the faltis that my tua *brethir* committis daly; my tua brethir, nobillis and clergie, ar mair cruel contrar me nor is my ald enemes of Ingland.—*Compl. of Scot.*, p. 191.

Quod he, my *bredir*, be ȝe nocht in ȝour vit lyik *childir*.—Ib. p. 46.

This word is now nearly obsolete[1] in the Southern Counties, *bruthers* being the common form. In the Annals of Hawick, anno 1622, p. 204, we have "Thomas Lytle in Scheill and James and Christie *Lytles* his *brether*." *Brether* is still common in many parts of Scotland. Mr. R. Giffen informs me that he has heard it used by old people in Strathavon; another friend reports it from Perth; the Rev. W. Ross gives it as the common form in Caithness; and Mr. John Addison, replying to a query in the *Athenæum*, says: "this word is in every-day use among the common people in 'the kingdom' of Fife as the plural of *brother*. In the town it has in some degree given place to *brithers*; but in the country it still holds its own." The general pronunciation is *breether*, but in Caithness *brĕther*, as in *brethren*. The singular ought analogically to be pronounced *bruither*, according to the usual equivalent of the Ags. ó. Compare tóð, gós, Sc. *tuith*, *guiss*. The pronunciation of the Middle Period was probably *bruither* and *muither*, whence the *brither* and *mither* of Central Scotland, like the modern fit, fytt, for Middle Scotch *fute*, *fuit*.

Plural the same as the Singular.

Names of animals neuter in Anglo-saxon for which there existed distinct sexual names besides—

Sing. hòrse	nowt (neat-cattle)	scheip	deer	gayt (goat)	greyce (pig).
Pl. hòrse	nowt	scheip	deer	gayt	greyce.
Ags. hors	nyten	sceáp	deór	geát	

To this class also belongs properly *sweyne*, swine, which, in most of the Northern dialects, is used both as singular and plural like the Ags. *swín*; but in this dialect the original feminine *suw*, *soo*, older *sowch*, *sow*, is used for the singular, with *sweyne* as its plural. *Gayte* or *gaitt*, goat, goats, is used by the northern writers down to the 17th century at least:

[1] The Rev. J. Pillans informs me of its use in Annandale within his memory.

His angels þan . . . . .
Sal first departe þe gude fra þe ille,
Als þe hird þe shepe dus fra þe *gayte*.—
Hampole, *Pr. of Con.*

In the Record of the Jedburgh Circuit of 1622 (Annals of Hawick, p. 246), two of the border thieves then brought to "Jethart justice," "wes accusit for ye thifteous steilling of tuentie scheip, and fyve auld *gaitt*, with yair kiddis, furth of ye lands of Cruiks, thrie ȝeir syne or yrby." In two other instances we find *gaitt* among the booty carried off, the chief part consisting, however, of *nolt*, *ky*, *stottis* (bullocks), *oxin*, *hors*, *meiris*, *naigis*, *scheip*, *yowis* (ewes), and *lammis*, a fine series of northern plurals. Since *gayte* have disappeared before Cheviot sheep from the Border hills, the word has also disappeared from current speech, and the English *goat*, *goats*, have taken its place.[1] According to 'D. C.' in the *Athenæum*, 27th Feb. 1869: "*gaitt* is in familiar use in the north-east of Perthshire, where the rhyme is current:

Wha's gaitt are thae,
Doun in yon green ?
What gie thay ?
Milk and whey, etc."

To this class also may be added *fysch* and *fool*, fowl, which had originally plurals in *-s*, but of which the singular has passed from a *collective* into a *plural* signification.

Most nouns of time, space, quantity, weight, measure, and number, remain unchanged in the plural when used collectively, or with a numeral that already indicates plurality.[2] Such are

Of Time.—Yeir, munth.

Of Space.—Ynsch, fytt, æll, meyle, eacre, yerd, peartch.

[1] A number of the original northern words in *a* have of late become obsolete before the southern forms in *o*. In addition to gayte, *bait*, *bair*, *neis*, *air*, *rair*, *slaw*, have more or less yielded to *boat*, *boar*, *nose*, *oar*, *roar*, *slow*. This was one of the chief points introduced by the Anglicising writers of the 16th century: Knox, Lyndesay, and Dunbar, have almost always *one*, *tone*, *more*, *so*, for *ane*, *tane*, *mare*, *sa*, etc. Several northern forms in *u* are also disappearing before southern forms in *o*, *oo*, such as *dure*, *door*, *muive*, *move*, *pruive*, *prove*.

[2] In connection with the difference between plurals *collective*, and plurals *distributive*, I have known a second or double plural to be formed from such words as *schuin*, *feit*, *kye*. An old lady met a company of muddy-booted lads at the door with the injunction, "Nuw, screape yer *feits* weil, an' pyt off aa o' yer *schuins* i' the passage!" With all diffidence, as became one of the culprits, I ventured to remark upon the oddness of such a form as *schuins*, but was rather testily told: "Gin ye had them tui clean, ye wad ken the difference atween ae bodie's *schuin* an' aa o' yer *schuins*." The argument of course admitted of no reply, but I have often thought of the words as illustrating the numerous southern double plurals *calver-en*, *lamber-en*, *eyr-en*, etc., of which *children*, *brethren*, and *kine* (*sing.* child, brother, cow; *pl.* child-er, brether, ky; *double pl.* child-er-en, brether-en, ky-en, ky-ne,) have come down into modern English. Did the original plurals—still preserved in the northern dialect, *childer*, *brether*, *ky*—come to be used collectively for the offspring or members of a single family, the herd of a single owner, so that a

Of Weight.—Pund, unce, steane, tun, leade, hunder-wæycht.

Of Measure.—Mutchkyn, peynt, quart, gallon, bushel, haf-fou', bowe, sæck, leade, chappin, fyrkin, and such compounds as haandfu', næffu', canfu', cairtfu', haands-breith, etc.

Of Number.—Pærr, dyzzen, scuore, hunder, thoosant, myllion, sæt, cupple, heid. *Examples: Syx munth aald,* six months' old; *twàll yeir aald,* twelve years' old; *the fæck o' tæn yeir,* the space of ten years; *fyve æll o' reape,* five ells of rope; *toontie meyle o' geate,* twenty miles' walk; *tweae bowe o' meil,* two bolls of meal; *a hunder thoosant.*

But when used *severally,* or not preceded by a numeral, they are made plural in the usual way. Thus:

Hey baid away for yeirs, he remained away for years; *hey hæs eacres on eacres, aa s' warran' ye, a thoosant eacre,* he has acre upon acre, I warrant you a thousand acres; *huw muonie meyle said hey? threy meyle an' a byttock; æye, threy lang meyles, an' the byttock as guid as onie tweae o' them,* how many miles said he? three miles and a bit; ay, three long miles, and the bit as good as any two of them. *Aa saa hunders hyngan' aboot,* I saw hundreds hanging about. *Huw muonie dyzzen hæ-ye? Aa dynna coont be dyzzens.* How many dozen have you? I don't count by dozens. *The' waar seiven cupple kyrkit, an' thay cum oot be cupples.* There were seven couples churched, and they came out by couples.

The same distinction has prevailed from the earliest appearance of northern literature in the 13th century.

As in English several nouns are naturally plural. Such are *taings,* or *taiyngs,* tongs, *scheirs,* scissors, *breiks,* breeches.

Collective nouns being in Scotch usually construed as plural, several preparations of food, considered as collective nouns, are spoken of as *thay, thaim, monie, meae,* or *feuw.* Such are *bruose, pòrritch, sowens, keale, bròth, cruds.* The *collective* idea seems to arise from viewing them as containing the collected meals or portions of many individuals.

Examples. Thyr pòrritch 'll bey ower caald, yf ye dynna teake them suin. Huw dui-ye leyke theae bròth, yr-n' thaay værra feyne? Aa've ower feuw bruose.

The Possessive Case.

In common with the other modern representatives of the Anglo-saxon, the Lowland Scotch retains the case-inflections of the ancient tongue only in the Genitive or Possessive Case.

second plural inflection became necessary to express the *brethren* and *children* of many families, the *ky-en* of many owners, or as my old friend would have expressed it, "aa o' thair *kyes?*" All the words so inflected seem to be the names of animals or objects naturally found in groups; and in modern English we restrict *brothers,* which replaces *brether,* to those of one family, using *brethren* for those who call each other *brother,* though of different families.

The *Possessive Singular.*—As in the case of the nominative plural, the termination (-es) originally peculiar to masculine and neuter nouns of the complex order, was extended, first, by the northern, and, afterwards, by the other dialects to nouns of all genders. The change, although begun in the 10th century,[1] does not seem to have been completed quite so early as the corresponding extension of the plural *s*, for in Hampole, Barbour, and other writers, down even to the "Complaynt of Scotland," 1548, we still find examples of genitives, originally in *e-*, *-en*, or the *umlaut*, which have lost these inflections without as yet adopting the termination -s, and thus appear in their simple, uninflected form. Thus, in Hampole, we have *fader* house, *moder* kne, þe *son* rysyng, þe *hert* rote, an *eghe* twynkelyng, til *helle* ground, *helle* pyne, þi *endyng* day, in *saul* dede, representin the Ags. fæder, móder, sunnan, heortan, eáȝan, hellan, endunȝe, sawle; although it is proper to add that the same forms are occasionally found where both the Ags. and modern language entitle us to expect a genitive in -s, as in *man* son, *hefd* hare, ur *laverd* witherwines, our lord's adversaries.

In Barbour we have :—

Modreyt his *systir* son him slew,
And gud men als ma þan inew.

Wynton :— þan he
Banysyd his *Broder* barnys thre.
As þai wald þame redy mak,
For þair *fadyre* dede to tak
Revengeans.

Lyndesay :— to speik with ony other
Except that kyng, quhilk was his *mother* brother.

Complaynt :—

ȝour vmquhile *fadir* broder Antonius duc of Calabre, loran, and of bar.
Siclyike that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, ihone of loran, quha is ȝour *fadir* broder.
ȝoung Iunius Brutus was *sistir* sone to tarquinus.

Here *systir*, *fadyre*, *mother*, represent the Ags. genitives *sweoster*, *fæder*, *moder*.

But the usual ending of the possessive in Scotch was the same as that of the plural number, *-is*. The *i* is now elided and its place indicated by the apostrophe, as *man's*, *weyfe's*, *schyp's*, for the older *mannis*, *wyffis*, *schyppis*, and Ags. mannes, wífes, scipes.

Though omitted in spelling, the *i* must still be pronouced after *s*, *sh*, *z*, and *zh* sounds (see formation of plural). Thus *lass's*, *juidge's*, *fysch's*, are pronounced *lassiz*, *juidgiz*, *fyschiz*, just like the plural.

[1] Dr. R. Morris, Introduction to the "Early English Homilies," lv. lvii., cites *nedles*, *saules*, *helles*, *costunges*, *witigunges*, *broðres*, *fadores*, *modres*, from the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The *Possessive Plural* in Ags. ended in -a, -ra, -na, but this termination has disappeared in the modern dialects, which have replaced it by a new form in *'s*, after the analogy of the singular.[1] In the literary English this appears in full only where *s* is not already the plural ending, as in *men, sheep, mice*, poss. *men's, sheep's, mice's*; when the plural ends in *s*, euphony requires the second *s* to be omitted and its place indicated by the apostrophe alone, thus, *boys'* for *boys's*. But in our dialect this euphonic contraction does not take place, and thus the possessive plural, as well as the singular, is regularly formed by adding *'s* to the nominative. Thus, the *kye's huorns*, cow's horns, *the meyce's huoles*, mice's holes, *the bairns's clease*, the children's clothes, *the fœrmers's kye*, farmers' cows, *the doags's lugs*, dogs' ears. As in the singular the apostrophe must be pronounced as a connecting vowel after *s* sounds; men's, kye's = (mænz, kaiz), but bairns's, doags's, meyce's = (bernziz, doogziz, meisiz).

The history of the possessive plural, and the first appearance of forms in *s* seem to deserve further investigation. In the Southern dialect of 1340, the "Ayenbite of Inwyt" makes this case in *-ene* (Ags. -ena), and this or its contraction -en remained as the southern possessive plural till near the end of the 14th century. The West Midland dialect of the 14th century also retained some vestiges of a genitive plural in *-en*, but such forms had long before disappeared from the Northern dialect. As to the modern substitute, in plurals not formed in *s*, Hampole has *mens*—

> Þe fire *mens* bodys to askes sal brin;
> *Mens* sons and doghters unchastyede.
> alle *mens* knawyng; till all *mens* sight

But also simply *men*—

> sal dede *men* banes be sett togyder:
> thurgh messes, and rightwis *men* prayers:

In the case of s-plurals we find—

> Man here es nathyng elles
> Bot *wormes* fode þat þai wald have.

Compare the Southern—

> "Huet is man bot velthe and a zechvol of donge, *wermene* mete."—
> *Ayenbite*, p. 216.

[1] A relic of the genitive plural in *-er*, Ags. *-ra*, survived to the 16th century in the phrases *aller-best, aller-last, aller-maist*, best, last, most, *of all*. Ags. eálra-betst, *omnium optimus*. Already in Hampole we find *aller* strengthened into *alder alþer*, and latterly we find that the true origin of the expression was entirely lost, so that it is expanded into *all thare, all yair*; thus, Lyndesay "Deploratioun of Quene Magdalene," Edition of 1568:

> The greit Maister of houshold *all thare* last,

Paris edition of 1558:—

> The greit maister of howshold *all yair* last,

where read *aller-last*, last of all, Ags. eálra-latost.

Þai sal turne þurgh Goddes myght
Þe *fadirs* hertes until þe sons right.

Þe boke of *Apostels* werkes

Þe *Hebriens* bokes = some bokes of þe Ebriens.

Aboven al þat er *paens* goddes calde

that is

"aboven the goddes alle
Þat the paens þair goddes sal calle."

In the Scottish writers plurals not in *-s* are used as possessives without any additional inflection, down to a late period:

Knychtis þat wicht and hardy war,
Undyr *horss* feit defoulyt þair.—*Barbour.*

The *childer* ayris of the fyrst wyff.—*Leges Burgorum.*

Gif the pure commontis that lyis vitht in the *Inglis men* handis be nocht of ane qualitie to defend or resist there enemeis.—*Compl. of Scot.* 1548.

But elsewhere we find also *mennis*. Plurals in *-is*, *-s*, were used as possessives without any change of form.

The preist of peblis speris ane question, quhy that *burges* ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr?—*Compl. of Scot.*

The *Grekis* chiftanys irkit of the weir.—*Douglas.*

In which there is nothing but the context to distinguish the possessive plural from the nominative plural, or indeed from the possessive singular. Was it simply the nominative plural placed in juxtaposition to the object possessed, as in *dede men banes, my fader hous?* Is the modern English *boys'* really an euphonic contraction for *boys's*, or is it simply the nominative placed in juxtaposition with a diacritical mark to distinguish it to the eye? Concerning the modern Scotch *boys's*, *doags's*, there can be no doubt, and it is significant that the northern dialect, which first gave us this genitive plural in *s*, pushes its application to the fullest extent.

The *Norman French possessive* (of, o') is also used in Scotch, especially with inferior animals and things; as *the heid o' the beist; the tail of a lyon.* With persons it seems to be used in a ludicrous or derogatory sense, as ranking them with the inferior animals; as *look at the ein o' the buodie!* look at the eyes of the creature!

Instead of either Saxon or Norman possessive, the two nouns are often placed in juxtaposition in their simple state. This form is especially used with inanimate objects, as the hyll-heid, the trey-ruit, the trey-tòp, the doar-back, the doar-key, the hoose-ænd, the toon-geate, the hoose-seyde, a clock-feace, a burn-seyde, a maad-neúk, a cuot-tail, a cuot-sleive. Sometimes also with *animals* when dead, as a scheip-heid, a caave-skyn. *Aa saa a cuw heid at the doar*, would mean the head of a dead cow; *aa saa a cuw's heid*, might be the head of a living cow looking out.

This form of the possessive is very common in *Hampole*; as already mentioned, it is found with nouns which had not originally an *s* in the genitive, but is not confined to them, numerous nouns occurring now with and now without the *s* quite arbitrarily. Proper names scarcely ever take an *s*. Examples: haly *kirk* fas, holy church's foes, also, haly *kirkes* tresor; an *egge* yholke, also the yholke of the egge, man saul, mans lyfe, the *dede* hand, the hand of death, þe *dede* thraw, til a *hors* bak a mykel lade, a *hefd* hare (a hair of the head), *man* son (the son of man), þe rich *man* saule, *Antecrist móder* lend (Antichrist's mother's loins), *Lazar* saule, *Lazar* fynger ende, *Abraham* bosom, "als byfel in *Noe* and *Loth* days."[1]

The 's is often separated from its noun by a word or clause, as in "Thamson the Myller's cairt; Rob o' the Toor's kye; the màn-wui-the-quheyte-cuot's horse; thàt's the màn-ăt-ye-mæt-yesterday's dowchter. Connected with this is the development of the *-s* into *his*, in formal language. Robert Laidlaw, quhilom of Haviesyde, his Executors."

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives of Quality.

These present few peculiarities of form, being either simple or derivative with such terminations as *-ie, -rie, -lie, -le, -sum, -rif, -fŭ, -less, -isch*, as *haandie*, handy, clever; *sleiprie* sleepy, *bairnlie* childish, *bruckle* brittle, *weaesum* mournful, *weakerif* wakeful, *cayrfŭ* carefull, *heidless* headless, *fayrisch* pretty fair.

Of the derivative forms those in *-ie* (Eng. *-y*, Ags. iȝ, German *-ig, -ich,*) are the most frequent, being formed from almost all nouns simple or compound, as well as verbs, with the idea of *possessing, characterised by*, as *wuddie* woody, *haandie* handy, adroit, *fouthie* copious, having *fouth* or fullness, *yll-wullie* malevolent, *fuore-thowchtie*, having forethought, *thuole-muidie* patient, *synkie* sloughy. In one word, *-rie*, represents the English *-y*, *sleiprie* sleepy. Compare the German *schläf-rig*, Dutch *slape-rig*.

The termination *-le* has the power of *inclined to, given to*, as *bruckle*, liable to break, *forgettle*, apt to forget, *smyttle*, apt

[1] This is still a characteristic of the dialect of the Northern English counties. "One peculiarity of our dialect is that *we have no Genitive*, or rather, possessive case, especially in proper names. A servant would speak of 'Mr. Atkinson boots;' a boy would say, 'that is John book;' a man would write on the fly-leaf of a book, "John Smith book." In short, I never remember hearing *'s* from an uneducated Cumbrian."—*Rev. J. Hetherington in letter to Mr. Ellis, on Cumberland Dialect.* So with the pronoun *it*: "it lifted *it* head, and opened *it* mouth.

to *smytt* (Danish *smitte*, Sw. *smitta*, to infect), infectious, contagious. Compare Ags. *ét-ol*, *drinc-ol*, *spréc-ol*, given to eating, drinking, speaking, *edax*, *bibax*, *loquax*. We have also *East-le* and *Wast-le*, lying to the East and West respectively. The town of Hawick is divided by the northward-running *Slitrig* into two parts, known as *Eastle-the-waitter* and *Wastle-the-waitter*, commonly contracted into *Eis'la-waitter* and *Was'la-waitter*, or simply *Eis'la* and *Was'la*.

Adjectives in *-sum* are distinct from those in *-fu*. Thus *a weaesum* stuorie is a mournful story, one that would make the hearer *weae* or sorry, *a weaefu feace* is a face already wobegone. So *feirsum* terrific, *aasum* producing awe, *gruwsum*, such as to make one *groose* or shudder (German *grausam*), *teyresum* tiresome.

Adjectives in *-less* are the opposite of those in *-fŭ*, *-sum*, or *-ie*, as *cayr-fŭ*, *cayr-less*, *thowchtsum*, *thowchtless*, *haandie*, *haandless* handless, gauche.

The termination *-isch* forms diminutives from other adjectives, as *guidisch*, *yungisch*, *aaldisch*. Also adjectives from nouns, as *fuilisch*.

The termination *-en*, for which the Southern English dialects have so great a predilection, is all but obsolete in the north, where the simple noun form is used instead; as *quheit breid*, wheaten bread, *a wud han'l*, a wooden handle. The present tendency of the literary English is to imitate the Northern dialects in rejecting the termination *-en*. Thus, *leathern*, *silken*, *hempen*, *waxen*, *oaken*, *birchen*, *beechen*, *ashen*, *brazen*, *leaden*, *golden*, are disappearing before the simple forms *leather*, *silk*, *hemp*, *wax*, *oak*, *birch*, etc. Dorsetshire, on the other hand (southern dialect), retains many old forms, such as *hornen*, *peäpern*, *stwonen*, *elemen*, etc.

Degrees of Comparison.

The comparative and superlative are formed by adding *-er* and *-est* (pronounced as in *hyr*, *kyst*), or in long words by prefixing *mayr*, *meast*.

The following are irregularly compared:—

Guid *good*	bætter	bæst
Yll, Baad } *evil, bad*	waar	warst
Lyttle *little*	læss	leist
Muckle *great*	mayr	meast
Monie, muonie, *many*	meae	meast, moniest[1]

[1] Ilk opinioun has sufficient auctoritеis, nochtheless, I find *monyest* auctoritеis sayand, the Romane brethir war Horacianis.—Bellenden, *Livy*.

Færr *far*	færrer, fæther	færrest[1]
Nærr, neir *near*	nærrer, næther	nærrest, neixt, neist
Leate *late*	leater	leatest, last
Fuore *fore*		fuormest,[2] fyrst
Hynt *hind*	hynder	hyntmest, hynmest[3]

Several adverbs and nouns of place are compared and used adjectively :—

Up	upper	upmest, upper-mest
(abuin) *above*	buiner	buinmest, -ermest
Top		topmest
Heid *head*		heidmest
Doon *down*	dooner	doonmest, -ermest
	under	undermest
(anæth) *beneath*	næther (in place names)	næthmest
Boddam *bottom*		boddammest
Fytt *foot*		fytmest
Ynn *in*	ynner	ynmest, ynnermest
Oot *out*	ooter	ootmest, ootermest
Eist *east*	eister	eistmest, -ermest
Wast *west*	waster	wastmest, -ermest

Hynder is only used in the expression *hynder-end*, the last end, the close, death. "Ye măn beyde an' sey the hynder-ænd," you must stay and see the close. *End* alone is used for either extremity, the *beginning* or *end*. "Thay gang oot-bye fræ the fuore-ænd ŏ symmer tui the hynt-ænd ŏ hærst," they go in the open air from the beginning of summer to the end of harvest; "the bàck-ænd," the fall of the year, the period between harvest and winter; "ye'll fynd the neame ăt the fuore-ænd ŏ the buik," you will find the name at the beginning of the book.

Eister and *Wàster*, written *Easter* and *Wester*, are used in distinguishing hamlets or farms of the same name, as *Easter Essenside, Wester Middle, Wester-kirk*.

The *Superlative absolute* is formed by *værra* (older *veray, verra*[4]), *real*, truly, exceedingly; "hey's a *værra* guid maister;" "schui was *real* guid tui the puir," she was exceedingly good to the poor; "yt's real weill duin," it is exceedingly well done, es ist *recht* wohl gethan. *Sayr* is used when a degree of pity or regret is expressed, as "the waa was *sayr* bròken doon," the wall

[1] And *farrest* from the heuin Impyre
The erth, the watter, air, and fyre.—
Lyndesay, *Monarché*, 697.

[2] And wan before the *formest* schyp in hy.
Dowglas, *Eneid*. 133, 13.

[3] ȝe aucht alwayis to note that as in thir foirsaidis, it rymes in the *hinmest* lang syllabe in the lyne, sa is the *hinmest* lang syllabe the *hinmest* fute.—
James VI., *Reulis and Cautelis*.

[4] Munitius was verra glaid of this ansuer.—*Compl. of Scot.*, fol. 134.

was very much broken down, die Mauer war *sehr* umgebrochen; "quhow! but hey's *sayr* àltert!" alas! he is greatly changed, ach! doch ist er *sehr* verandert! *Sayr* has not assumed quite so wide an application as German *sehr*, Dutch *zeer*, but has a more general sense than English *sore*. With a nearly similar force *uncŏ* (Ags. uncúð, unknown, unfamiliar, strange, uncommon,) is used: "It's *unco* caald the-day," it is exceedingly cold to-day. *Unco* somewhat insinuates the idea of *too*, *too much*, more than was expected, or is wished.

Than, after the Comparative Degree, is expressed indifferently by several words:

1. By *nor*, perhaps the commonest form still in use, as well as with the writers of the Middle Period.

> Munitius the maister of the hors men was verra proud in hym self, and alse in his weyrs, he was mair furius *nor* prudent.—*Compl. of Scot.*
> Na personne sall bruick the office of Balliarie langer *nor* the space of twa yeír together.—*Burgh Rec. of Hawick*, Anno. 1669.

The older form of *nor* was *na*; thus in the *Craft of Deyng*, l. 112:

> He opnyt na mare his mouth *na* the lam dois quhen his throt is wnder the knyf.

2. By *thăn*, the form always used by Hampole, and commonly by the early Scottish writers down to Gawain Douglas.

3. By *as* (əz), like the German *als*, a very common construction in the Southern Counties, of which instances are also found in the 16th century:

> Ane verteous captain can nocht exsecut ane mair vailȝeant act *as* quhen he purchessis pace and concorde.—*Compl. of Scot.*
> There can nocht be ane mair vehement perplexite *as* quhen ane person beand in prosperite, syne dechays in miserabil adversite.—*Ibid.*

4. By *be*, *bey*, "hey's yunger be onie ŏ thaim." This curious form appears to be as old as the Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, where one of the renderings of *magis illis* is *mare bi him*. Compare Gawain Douglas:

> an fer greter wonder
> And mare dredful to cativis *be* sic hunder;

i.e. than a hundred such.

A very emphatic comparative is formed by using the positive with *be*, *bey*—"yung be yuw"—young *to a degree* by *or* beyond you, or young beside you, by *comparison with* you, decidedly younger than you. This may have led to the use of *be* with the comparative, as in *yunger be thaim*.[1]

Baad is apparently a word of recent adoption, the true opposite

[1] In a company of Scotchmen, recently, I referred to the proverb, "Better weir schuin than sheets," and, without calling attention to the conjunction, heard it given "*than* sheets," "*nor* sheets," "*as* sheets," and "*be* sheets," by different members of the company, without any one perceiving the diversity, until I called attention to it.

of *guid* being *yll* (Ags. yfel. Sc. writers generally *euyll*, but pronounced *yll*. See ante p. 130). Thus:

> Þat day sal alle men byfor hym be,
> Bathe *gude* and *ille*, mare and less.—Hampole, l. 6123.
>
> Wa till yhow Þat says with will,
> Þat *ille* es *gud*, and *gud* es *ill*!—*Ibid.* l. 1612.
>
> Efter as his deid was *gud* or *ill*
> Hym self to deme sall be his will.—*Ratis Raving*, 1354.

Yll is still generally used in the sense of *bad*, as "hey's an *yll* loon;" "yt's an *yll* wund ăt blaas neaebuodie guid."

> Away, away, ye ill womyne
> An ill deide met ye dee!—*Ettrick Shepherd—Witch of Fife.*

Also in the sense of *hard* or *difficult*, as "*yll* tui beyde," hard to bear; "*yll* to meake oot," difficult to decipher. To be *yll aboot* a thing is to be vexed or grieved about it; "thay're uncŏ yll aboot luossin' the lyttle eane;" to be *yll at*, is to be dipleased with, opposed to: "hyr freinds war yll at hyr mairriein' hym;" to be *yll ŏn* is to be hard upon; "schui was seae yll ònna the làssie, ăt schui ràn away, an' wàdna beyde wui'r." *Bad* and *yll* are used indifferently in reference to health: "hey's værra baad," *or* "værra yll." "Aa heir ye've bein baadlie," that is, *rather ill.*

Muckle and *lyttle* are used to express size, as *magnus*, *parvus*, as well as adverbially, and to express quantity, like the English much, little, and French beaucoup, peu. Thus, *a muckle waitter*, a large river; *a lyttle burnie*, a small streamlet; *muckle waitter*, much water; *lyttle wut*, little wit; "hey eits lyttle, but hey drynks ower muckle," he eats little, but drinks too much; "ye mænna weale, but teake lyttle and muckle as thay cum," you must not choose, but take small and large as they come. The Norse *bygg*, bulky, is now used as almost synonymous with *muckle* in speaking of size; at an earlier period it was used in the sense of *wealthy*. Thus Hampole:

> Now er we ryche, now er we pur,
> Now haf we our litil, now pas we mesur,
> Now er we *bigg*, now er we *bare*,
> Now er we hale, now seke and sare.—

Where MS. additional 1305, translates bigg by *riche*. The *bygg hoose*, in north of Scotland, the *myckle hoose*, is the mansion house, or residence of the *laird*.

The Comparative and Superlative of *muckle* are now used almost exclusively as adverbs, or to express *quantity*, like the English *more* and *most*; as *mayr rain*, *measte sœnse*. At an earlier period they were used also to express *size*, as *major*, *maximus*. Thus Hampole:

Hampole:— Ilk man Þat here lyves, *mare* and lesse.
Of the *mare* world yhit wil I mare say.
Þe *mare* world es Þis world brade
And Þe *les* es man for quham it es made.

Gawain Douglas:— Heruest to rendir his frutis *maist* and *leist*.

But though we still say "hey was the mayr fuil tui gang," the greater fool to go, "the measte pairt o' the siller," *bygger* and *byggest* regularly replace *mair* and *measte*, as adjectives.

In comparing modern English with the ancient forms of the language, we observe a curious *slide* or displacement in meaning, which has befallen the adjectives of size. In Anglo-saxon *mycil* and *lytil* were = *magnus* and *parvus*. In English (and partly in Scotch) *mycil* (much, muckle) has lost this sense, and become = *multùm*. *Lytil* has also taken the meaning of *parùm*, but without altogether abandoning its adjective sense of *parvus*. In the sense of the Ags. *mycil*, the English now uses the Ags. *great*, and Latin *large*, while the Scotch uses, in part at least, the Norse *bygg*. Similarly for *lytil*, modern English uses (partially at least) *small*, Ags. smæl. Now *great* and *smæl* in Ags. meant *thick* (*i.e.* having *girth*, that is *girtness*, *gritness*, or *greatness*), and *thin* or *slender* respectively. This is the sense in which *gryt* and *smaa* are still used in Scotch, as "grytt stycks an' smaa stycks," "Lang smaa fyng-ers." *Thic* and *thyn* in Ags. meant *dense* and *sparse*, and so they are still used in Scotch, as "the road was thyck o' fuok." This curious displacement may be thus exhibited:

Anglo-saxon	mycil, lytil	=	*English*	great, small
„	great, smæl	=	„	thick, thin
„	thyc, thyn	=	„	dense, sparse

The lapse of meaning is most complete with the "big-enders," *mycil*, *great*, *thyc*, for we still hear of "a thin meeting," though no longer "a thick meeting;" "small seeds," though not "great seeds;" "little men," but not 'much' or "muchel men." In Scotch it is only *mycil* that has changed its meaning in part, and being supplied by *bygg*, it has not occasioned the successive slides of meaning which we see in English.

The true opposite of *bygg* is *wee*, as in the school-boy play-rhyme:

> Aa wairn ye aa, beath grytt and smaa,
> Beath bygg an' wee, amang ye aa!

So, "wait a wee," wait a little; a *wean* or *wee-ane*, that is, a little one, a child. The different senses in which these adjectives are used is shewn in the phrase "a *bygg smaa* faimilie," *i.e.* a large family of little children.

For the sake of intensity are used *muckle bygg*, *grytt muckle*, *lyttle wee*, as "a muckle bygg man," a very tall or stout man; "a lyttle wee aald mannie," a diminutive old man; "the Quene Dido astonyst ane litill we."—*Gawain Douglas.*

Grytt is used idiomatically in the sense of friendly, intimate (prov. Eng. *thick*), as "the tweasum war værra grytt," the two were very intimate friends; "hey wad fain bey grytt wui 's," he would fain be on friendly terms with us.[1]

[1] In this sense *chief* is used in the west and north of Scotland, thay war aa verra cheif, all very intimate.

Meae (conventional spelling *mae*) may be viewed as the plural of *mayr*, being applied to a greater number of things, while *mayr* is used of a greater quantity of one thing. This distinction, now lost in English, as well as in the more northern parts of Scotland, existed in all the ancient forms of the language (Ags. *má* and *máre*; Old North. Eng. and Scotch *ma* and *mar*, *mare*; Old Mid. and South. Eng. *mo*, *moe* and *mor*, *more*). Thus:

South. & Mid.:— Þe *mo* Þe myryer, so god me blesse,
In honour *more* and neuer the lesse.—
West Midl. Allit. Poems A.

He knew of hem *mo* legendes and *mo* lives
Than ben of goode wives in the Bible.

He spake *more* harm than herte may bethinke,
And therewithall he knew of *mo* proverbes,
Than in this world there growen gras or herbes.—Chaucer.

The greter richesses that a man hath, the *mo* dispendours he hath.—
Ibid. Melibœus.

Ac *more* zeneȝeÞ Þe ilke Þet dispendeÞ Þane zonday and Þe festes ine zenne.

Huervore Þer byeÞ zeuen, ne *mo*, ne les.—*Ayenbite of Inwyt.*

Northern:— Þe *ma* Þat gaders to that place (heaven)
Þe *mare* Þair joy es and solace.

And Þe foner Þat Þider (to hell) commes for syn
Þe les payn Þai have Þat duelles Þar-in,
And ay Þe *ma* saules Þat Þider wendes
Þe *mare* Þair payn es, Þat never endes.—Hampole, 3728.

With na doutsum takinnis *ma* than twa.

I have herde oft be *ma* na clerkis
To idill folkis full licht bene lukand werkis;
To ȝou my Lord, quhat is thare *mare* to say?
Ressaue ȝour werk desyrit mony ane day.—Gawain Douglas.

Modern Scotch:— *Meae* bairns and *mayr* tui gie them.
The *mayr* siller, the *meae* cairs.

Adjectives of Number and Quantity.

These are *Definite* and *Indefinite*; the former including the Numerals strictly so called, Cardinal and Ordinal, of which the following are the forms in the Southern Scotch.[1]

[1] The following forms occur in different dialects, No. 2 meaning Lothian and Fife, 3 Angus, 4 Aberdeen and Moray, 5 Galloway, 6 Clydesdale, 8 Caithness: *One*, 2 (ɹen, *en*) 3, 4 (in) 8 (ein); *Two*, 2 (twee, twaah) 3, 4 (twaa) 5, 6 (twɔoh); *Three* other dialects (thrii); *Four*, 4 (fauər), other dialects (fɑur, fœur); *Five*, other dialects (faa'v, fah'v, faaəv); *Six*, 2 (seks, sɑks), 6 (sɑks), 4 (saks); *Seven*, 4 (seiv·n); *Eight*, 2 (ɛɛkht, *e*ekht), 4 (*a*kht), 6 (*aa*kht); *Nine*, 4 (nɛin); *Ten*, other dialects (tɛn, tɛɛn); *Eleven*, 4 (əleiv·n); *Twelve*, 2 (twɛl), 4 (twal); *Twenty*, other dialects (twɣnti, twɨnti); *Hundred*, other dialects (hɛnər, hœnər); *Thousand*, other dialects (thuuz·n, thuuzən). *A hundred thousand pound*, Roxb. (ə hɜndər thuuzənt pound), Buchan (ə hœnər thuuz·n pɜuən).

Eäne (= yen)	fyrst	eane-an-toontie
eäe (= yeh)		*or*
tweae	seacund	toontie -eane
threy	thyrd	tweae-an-toontie
		or
fòwer	fowrt	toontie tweae
fȳve (*older* feyfe)	fyft	thærtie (thrættie)
syx (*older* sàx)	syxt	fortie (fowrtie)
seiven	seivent	fyftie (feyftie)
æycht (*older* auwcht)	æychtt[1]	syxtie (sàxtie)
neyne	neynt	seiventie
tæn	tænt	æychtie (auwchtie)
elleiven	elleivent	neyntie
twàll	twalt	a hunder
thærtein (thrættein)	thærteint	a hunder an'eäne
fowrtein	fowrteint	tweae hunder
fyftein (feyftein)	fyfteint	threy hunder
syxtein	syxteint	fower hunder, etc.
seiventein	seiventeint	a thoosant
æychtein	æychteint	tweae thoosant, etc.
neyntein	neynteint	a myllion
toontie, tuontie	toontieth	tweae myllion, etc.
	hundert	
	thoosant	

Eäne and its negative *neane* are absolute forms, used without a noun; before a noun the forms *eäe* and *neae* are used; thus, "hey hæs *eäe* bairn leevan', only *eäne*," he has one child alive, only one; "aa've *neae* friends, *neane* avaa," I have no friends, none at all; "yt's mayr as *eäe*-buodie's wàrk," it is more than one person's work.

Modern English retains the distinction in *no* and *none*; Old English had it also in *o* and *one*; thus in Chaucer:

> He moste as well sayn *o* word as an other.
>
> *O* flesh they ben, and *o* flesh as I gesse
> Hath but *on* herte in wele and in distresse.
>
> Ovides art, and bourdes many *on*
> And alle thise were bounden in *o* volume.

[1] An old northern form of *eighth* was *aghtend*, *achtande*; Frisian *achtenda*, *achtanda*; Old Norse *attende*. In the Scotch writers it appeared as *auchtand*, *auchten*; thus Gawain Douglas:

> Unto Enee geuis the *auchten* buke
> Baith fallowschip and armoure, quha list luke.

But this form must have even then been growing obsolete, as elsewhere we find,

> Bot quhen I saw nane vthir bute,
> I sprent spedily on fute,
> And vnder an tre rute,
> Begouth this *aucht* buke.

Auchten, as an old form of *aucht*, seems to have been in the mind of the writer of *Sweet Willie and Fair Annie*, one of the pseudo antiques of the *Sir Patrick Spens* order, where we read:

> The *firsten* bower that he cam till,
> The *lasten* bower that he cam till—

the coined forms, *firsten* and *lasten* being evidently intended to be palmed off as "Old Scots."

Scotch, *eae* wurd, *eae* flæsch, *eae* hært, *eae* volum. See further as to *ane, eane,* and their connection with *an, a,* among the demonstrative adjectives.

In counting we say "*eane,* tweae, threy," etc., but "*eae* buik, tweae buiks, threy buiks," etc. In the case of 21, 31, 41, etc., we must say "eane-an-toontie kȳe, eane an thærtie staaks." *Toontie-eane kȳe,* or *toontie-eae kye* are not used.

The *Multiple* numbers are *syngle, dooble,* or *tweae-faald, threy-faald,* etc.; also *tweaesum, threysum, fowersum,* etc.; thus, "a syngle or a dooble hædge," "a dooble schayr," "a threyfaald dainger." But in describing an object composed of several distinct parts, the other form is used, as "a *tweaesum* plæt," a plait of two; "a *threysum* cuord," a triple cord; "a *fowersum* bunsch o' cherries, a *fyvesum* cluster o' nytts" (nuts), etc. *Tweaesum* and *threysum* are used absolutely in speaking of persons in company, to express their close and undivided companionship; as "the tweaesum geade thair ways," the two friends went their way; "the threysum laid thair heids thegyther," the three confederates took counsel together; "they're a bonnie tweaesum!" they are a pretty couple! said in irony. These forms are found in the Scottish writers from the earliest period:

> (The bate) sa litill wes that it
> Mycht our the watter bot *thresum* flyt.—Barbour.
>
> He wes bot *auchtsum* in his rout
> For of danger he had no dout.—
> Lindesay—*Sq. Meldrum,* 1225.
>
> Thir cur coffeis that sailis oure sone
> And *thretty-sum* about ane pak.—
> Lyndesay—*Pedder Knavis,* 26.

The Fractional Numbers are a *hâff,* a *thyrd* pairt, a *quarter,* a *fowrt* pairt, etc. We say, "hàff an ynsch," "hàff a pund;" also "a hàff-ynsch, a hàff-pund;" a quàrter of a pund, the fowrt of a glass, an æycht o' an ynsch."

Distributively, *eane-be-eane, tweae-be-tweae,* are used. "Thay cam oot eane-be-eane," they came out one by one; "thay geade yont the toon-geate tweae-be-tweae," *or* "tweae-an'-tweae," *or* "tweae in a raa," *or* "tweae-man-rank," they went along the street of the tówn two by two.

Indefinite Numerals.

Are *sum, onie, aa, heale, beath, aneuch, aneuw, syc, uther, anuther, eane-anuther, thet-eane, thet-uther.*

Aa and *heale* are used almost synonymously in the singular, as "aa the toon," or "the heale toon," the whole town; "aa the road heäme," or "the heale road heäme," all the way home. Before nouns plural *aa* is more common, as "aa the bairns, aa the chylder," all the children.

Beath is often used redundantly with *tweae*, as "the faither an' sun war theare *beath the tweae o' them*," the father and son were both there. The pleonasm is very old, thus:

Hampole:— Bot *bathe þa twa* þe saules has
þat fra hethen to purgatory gas.

Allit. Poems:— Byndez byhynde at his bak *boþe two* his handez.

Chaucer: And sompne hem to the chapitre *bothe two*.

Gawain Douglas:—

Bot Venus, with ane sop of myst, *baith tway*
And with ane dirk clud, closit round about.

And to the tempill furth ȝede thay, *baith tway*.

Compare the Italian *ambidue*, the French *tous-les-deux*, and the word *both* itself, Ags. bu-tu, ba-twa, formed from *ba* = both, and *twa* two.

Aneuwch (sing.) is used for *quantity*, *aneuw* (plural) for *number*. Aneuwch o' syller bryngs aneuw o' freinds, enough of money brings enough of friends; Ye've aneuw o' pootches, yf ye'd aneuwch tui fyll them, you have enough of pockets if you had enough to fill them with. Observe that the construction in Scotch is as in French and Latin, assez *de* lait, satis *lactis*, aneuwch *o'* mylk, rather than as in Teutonic, *milch genug*, *milk enough*. The distinction between *aneuwch* and *anew* was observed by the old Scottish writers, and partly in the Southern dialect.

Gawain Douglas:—

"Clere takynnis *ynew*"
Aneuch of this—us nedis preich na mare.

Barbour:— Modreyt his syster son him slew
And gud men als ma then *inew*
For he had a fair cumpany
And gold *ynewch* for to dispend.

Harry:— Till hym thar socht may feechtaris than *anew*.

Chaucer:—Though so were, that thou haddest slaine of hem two or three, yet dwellen there *enow* to wreken his deth, and to slee thy persone.

In all the place saw he not a frere
Of other folk he saw *ynow* in wo.

Have thou *ynough*—what thar thee rekke or care
How merily that other folkes fare.

It is ynough, and farewell, have good day.

Syc is followed by *as*: "syc as yuw suid hàd yeir tung," such as you ought to keep silence. Also, without it, as "aa wuss aa hæd syc," I wish I had such; "thay're duist syc an' seae wui thaim ye hae," they are just such and so (such-like) as those you have. In comparing one object with another, *syccan*, *syc'na* (apparently derived from *syc-kyn*, anciently, *swilk-kyn*) is used; "gie's syc'n-a-eane as ye hae," give me such a one as you have; "syc'n-a-eane," or "syc'n-a-leyke-eane tælld hym," such a one told him; "syc, nonsense!" such nonsense! "yt's duist syc'n

nonsense as ye of'n heir," it is simply such nonsense as you often hear.

In *thet-eane, thet-uther* (W. and N. Scotch *ither*) we have the old neuter article *thœt*, Ags. þæt án, þæt óther. The true analysis of the expression having been forgotten after the northern dialect came to use *the* for the article in all genders and cases, it was commonly written *the tane, the tother*. The southern writers who retained *that, thet*, as the article for a longer period, divided the words rightly *that one, that other*.

Chaucer :— *That on* of hem spake thus unto *that other*,
Thou wotest wel thou art my sworen brother.

Knight of La Tour :—"And thus *that one* doughter discouered her to *that other*, and *that one* counsailed," etc. Chap. lv.

Allit. Poems :— In *þat on* oure pes watz mad at ene
In *þat oþer* is noȝt bot pes to glene. A. 952.

Hampole :— *þe tan* es gastly, invisile and clene
þe tother es bodyly, and may be sene.

þe tan es heghe, and *þe tother* lawe.

þe ta right frely he graunted me,
And *þe tother* til himself held he.

Gawain Douglas :— "the *tane* borne of Epiria
And the *tothir* was of Archadia."
The *ta* part feirs and fell with birnand ene
The *tother* part lamed clynschis, and makis hir byde.[1]

Modern Scotch :—Sætt doon thet-eae fytt, an' pytt up thet-uther. Thet-eane's raither lànger thàn thet-uther.

The loss of the true idea of the combination led, in course of time, to such anomalies as the use of *thet-uther* before plural nouns, as "hey leykes thyr bætter as *thet-uther* eanes,' he likes these better than the others, and even to the use of *ta* and *tuther* severed from *the*; as Gawain Douglas, 118–15, "the Qwene stands, her *ta* fute bare," *i.e.* one of her feet. Modern Scotch, "hey's hys muther's t-eae ey," *alter oculus, i.e.* as much to her as one of her eyes, said of a child foolishly doated upon.

The Scotch *tane, tuther*, must not be confounded in origin with the provincial English *t'one, t'other*, for *the one, the other*, like *t'master*, for *the master*. English, "Show me t'other hand," *i.e. t(he) other hand*; Scotch, "Shaw me the-tuther hand,' *i.e. thœt-uther hand*. A similar error was made by the northern writers, in analysing *another* as *a nothir*, making *nother*, like *tother*, a separate word : "a *nothir* thyng I sall thé tell," "na *nothir* man wald cum him by."

Ane *nother* wyse that bell sall now be roung.—Douglas.

If this had kept its ground as fully as *tother*, we should have had exact equivalents of the Latin *alter* and *alius*.

[1] *Correctly*, Dame naturis menstralis on *that uthyr* parte.

Other is used elliptically in Scotch, where English requires *each other*; thus, 'thay 're verra leyke uther; thay strák uther, an' tuir uther's clease.' Examples of this usage occur from the earliest period:

> Þus sal ilka saul *oþer* se
> For nan of þam may feled be.—Hampole.

> The twa princis tretis with thir sex brethir to fecht aganis uthir.—Bellenden, *Livy*.

Distributives. *Ylk* each, *yvverie* every. Ylk (Ags. ælc) before a consonant generally becomes ylka, (the appended *a* being originally the article *ilk a, ilk ane,* O.S.E. *ich a, each a.*—Compare *such a, many a,* etc.), "ylka bleade o' gærss kæps yts ayn dràp o' deuw," each blade of grass catches its own drop of dew; "Cum heir, ylk-eane (pr. ylk-yén or ýlkein) o' ye," come hither, each one of you. An *Ylka-day,* or *yvverie-day,* is a week-day, in opposition to the "*Sab'tha day.*" "Hey cam yn hys ylka-day clease," *Ilk, ilka,* are used as far south as Cleveland and Whitby.

Another *Ylk, ilk* (Ags. ylc, *same*), to be distinguished from *ylk,* each, is regularly used by the Scotch writers:

> Þai sall ansuer to þam on south half Forth, at *that ilke* terme, and *that ilke* stedde.—*Assisæ Willelmi.*

In the modern tongue this word appears to be known only in titles, such as "Gledstanes of that ilk," "Langlands of that ilk," etc., meaning *Gledstanes of the same, i.e.* Gledstanes of Gledstanes, Langlands of Langlands.

Aither and *Naither* are conjunctions, but not adjectives in the modern dialect. 'Neither of you shall go' would be expressed "*neane o' the tweae* o' ye maan gang;" 'Either of them will do,' "*onie o' the tweae* o' them'll dui."

The Scotch possesses several words, adjectives, adverbs, or nouns, to express indefinite number and quality, as a *wheen,* a *pyckle,* a *byt,* a *vast,* a *lot,* a *heip,* a *hàntle,* the *fæck.* Most of these are common to all the dialects north of the Humber.

A *quhein* or *wheen, whun, whon* (Ags. *hwœne, hwene, hwon,* little, few; Gawain Douglas, *quheyn*; Barbour, *quhone, quhoyne,*) is a small number, a few; *gie's a quhein aipples,* give me a few apples; *a quhein càllants,* a few boys.[1]

[1] *Callant,* the South Scottish for *boy,* is strictly a Modern word, unknown to the writers of the Early and Middle Periods. It seems to be one of those words which have spread inland from the fisher-folk of the East Coast, of Flemish origin (p. 79), being, not the French *gallant,* as Jamieson suggests, but the Flemish and Dutch *kalant, calant,* a customer, from the French *chaland,* a word which the latest French etymologists are unable to trace further. In Flemish it signifies not only a *customer* in the proper sense, but is also used in the slang sense of *a customer, a fellow, a chap, a blade, a boy,* as when we say, "a queer customer," "a Western boy," "a jolly boy." From this, by a natural transition, comes the Scottish sense of "young chap," a *lad,* a *boy,* in the strict meaning of these words, although the earlier use of the word is familiar in "Hawick Callants."

Thocht thai war *quheyn*, thai war worthy,
And full of gret chewalry.—*Barbour.*

Of mony wourdis schortlie ane *quhene* sall I
Declare. Thole me, I pray the,
Thir wourdis *quheyn* of wecht til the to say.—*Gawain Douglas.*

Compare the Old Northern *fone*, which bears apparently the same relation to *hwon, quhone*, as the N. E. Scotch *fat, fan*, do to *what, quhat, when, quhan.*

And for to life here *a fon* dayse.—*Hampole.*
Scotch: An' for tui leive heir a quhone or quhein days.

What *quhein* is to number, *pyckle* (W. and N. Sc. *puckle*, literally, a *grain*, compare a *barley-pickle*,) is to quantity, and *byt* to size: "Gie the beist a pyckle eates," give the horse some oats; "Hey's onlie a byt bairn," he is only a mere child. *Luoke* and *hayr* are used for quantities less than a *pyckle*: "Hæ ye a luoke meil 'at ye cood spair? Have you a small quantity of meal to spare? "Ay naa! lass, aa hæna a *hayr* i' the hoose."

All these words may be *diminished* by prefixing *wee*, or enlarged by *gaye, guid*; "Gie them a wee quhein meae;" "Syc a wee pyckle!" "a wee byt laddie;" "Thay've a gaye byt færm, an' thay growe a gaye pyckle eates, an' a guid quhein tattoes, an' aa s' warran ye, thay're wurth a gaye byt syller."

A *hantle* is a good many, a considerable number or quantity: "The' war a hàntle o' fuok at the meitin';" "hey spak a hantle o' nònsense;" "ther's a hàntle o' fuok i' yoor way o' thynkin'." *Hankle*, the dialectical form used in Angus, is considered by Dr. Jamieson as the original form; but the word seems rather to be *hand-tal*, a hand-tale or number, like *han' la' quheyle* from *hand-lang-while*, a hand's-length of time, a span, as "Aa cànna gytt hym tui syt styll a hànla-quheyle, an' hys tung never dyz devaal," I cannot get him to sit still for any space of time, and his tongue never makes a pause. The full form occurs in the *Townley Mysteries:*

I may not syt at my note
A hand-lang while.

In older English and Anglo-saxon we have *hand-while*, as in the (West Midland) Romance of the *Destruction of Troy:*

I hope it shall happon in a *hond-while.*

Herkinys now a hond qwhile of a hegh cas!

Fæck (Ags. fæc, *space, amount,*) is used for *space, quantity, the greater part, the bulk*: "Quhat fæck o' fuok wàd ther bey theare?" The fæck o' a hunder, aa daar-say." "Ys ther onie fæck o' waitter i' the lowch?" "Hey hæs bein away the fæck o' twàll yeir." "Hæs hey duin onie fæck o' wàrk the-day?"

A *lot*, a *heip*, a *vàst*, are used for an indefinitely large number: "Quhat *a lòt* o' fuok cumman' alàng the road!" "He hæs a *heip*

o' freinds eae pleace ăn anuther." "Ther's a *vast* o' thyngs eane wad leyke, yf eane cood gytt them." [1]

Demonstratives.

The *Demonstrative* or *Distinguishing* Adjectives are *an* (*a*), *the*, *thys*, *that*, and *thon* or *yon*. The two first are usually called *Articles*, the remainder Demonstrative *Pronouns*. As the primary use of all is the same, viz., to qualify or define Nouns, rather than to replace them, they are properly classed as Adjectives.

An (*a*) is used to individualize or indicate a noun, *not* already under consideration.

The is used to indicate or identify a noun which is already under consideration.

When several objects are under consideration

Thys is used to identify the object nearest to the speaker.
That is used to identify the object nearest to the person spoken to.
Thon or *Yon* is used to identify an object remote from both.

So in Spanish there are three demonstratives, *este* thys, *ese* that, *aquello* thon. The Anglo-saxon, like the modern Teutonic languages, was poor in these distinctive words, having only *this* and *that* (the latter of which also did duty for *the*). Although the northern demonstratives are all from Teutonic roots, their use is by no means Teutonic, and is probably imitated from the Celtic, where the distinction is a triple one. The Gaelic *an duine so, an duine sinn, an duine ud*, correspond exactly to the Lowland Scotch *thys man, that man, thon man.*

Thys and *that* have distinct plural forms, *thon* or *yon* is alike in both numbers:

Singular.	thys	that	thon or yon.
Plural.	thyr (thir)	theae (thae)	thon or yon.

An, a, is the unaccented form of the numeral *ane, eane*, Ags. án, æn, *one*, which, at a later date, became, like the Norman *un*, used also as the indefinite article. In this signification it was lightly pronounced *ăn, ă*, but as a numeral was strongly pronounced, appearing in the Old Southern English as *oon, one, oo, o*, according to the regular transliteration of the Ags. broad á. (Compare *bone, stone*, from bán, stán.) In the Northern dialect the more slender *æn* has given birth to such forms as *ane, æne, eane, eean, yen, yan*,[2] and in the existing Lowland Scotch and North English

[1] Compare the Cleveland "He can still bide a vast, thof he's bodden a deal in his day."

[2] "Ten things an' *yan* Bobby, ten things an *yan*
Five an five for Betty Banks, an *yan* for Betty's man."
"*Bobby Banks' Bodderment*,"—*Cumberland Dialect.*

Few words in the language present such a variety of dialectical forms as *one*; in the Northern dialects they range from *yan* over the whole series

dialects these strong forms are taken by the numeral, while the the article is simply *ăn, ă* (ən, ə). In the early Northern writers, both in England and Scotland, there was no distinction in writing between the numeral and the article, the numeral being *an*, later *ane*, when standing alone or before a vowel, *a* before a consonant; the article also *an, ane*, before a vowel, *a* before a consonant. The pronunciation of the latter was no doubt less emphatic than that of the numeral. Thus in Hampole:

> May be understanden ma warldes þan *ane*;
> *An* es þis dale whar we ar wonnand.
>
> Þe body and saule bytwene þam twa
> Makes bot *a* man and na ma.
>
> God in *a* substance and being.
>
> *An* eghe twynkelyng—*an* egge yholke.

See examples from the early Scottish writers at pp. 55–6.

But in the Scottish writers of the Middle period the single form *an*, usually written *ane*, was used in all positions for numeral and article alike. Thus:

> As thay bene in *ane* substance knyt all thre,
> Thre persouns regnis in *ane* Deite;
> Flambe, hete, and licht ben in *ane* fire we se.
>
> . . . . *ane* mekle fare altare,
> Nere quham thare grew *an* rycht auld laurer tre,
> Bowand toward the altere *ane* litill we.—Douglas, *Eneid.*
>
> He was *ane* Munȝeoun for *ane* Dame,
> Meik in Chalmer, lyk *ane* Lame,
> Bot in the feild *ane* Campioun,
> Rampand lyke *ane* wyld Lyoun.—Lyndesay, *Sq. Meldrum.*

I have already given, in the Historical Introduction, reasons for believing that this use of *ane* was a literary mannerism of the Middle Scotch; and it may be added that the analogy of *ane* was not extended to its compounds *nane* and *the tane*, which were still contracted into *na* and *the ta*, before a consonant, as in the early writers, and the modern dialects. We find *ane* man, *ane* kyng, but not *nane* man, *nane* kyng, or *the tane* man, *the tane* kyng, only *na* man, *na* kyng, *the ta* man, *the ta* kyng. See instances on p. 176.

The use of *ane* continued in Scottish writings down to the beginning of last century; it disappears from the Burgh Records

of *front* vowels to *e* in *been*, and in the Southern from *wan* over the entire range of back and back round vowels, to *oo* in *foot*, and *u* in *fun*, while, to increase the variety, an initial glide has developed in the Southern dialects into *w*, in the northern into *y*. The steps by which the Ags. án has reached these diverse extremities may be tabulated thus:—

án	aan,	awn,	ōne,	ūōne,	uōne,	wone,	wun.
	ahn,	ǣn,	ane,	ēāne,	eäne,	yane,	yen.

It is worthy of notice that the conventional spelling, both in English and Scotch, represents an early middle pronunciation, being that which was in use about the introduction of printing, but which the existing pronunciation *wun* and *yen* has passed many stages beyond.

of Hawick about 1728. In striking contrast with this single form, the existing Lowl. Sc. and N. Eng. dialects, like the old Southern English, have *four*; in the Southern Counties' Scotch, *eäne, eäe,* numeral, *ăn, ă,* article. But while the Old English *oo, o,* was used only before a consonant, the Scotch *ae, eae,* is used before all nouns, *eäne* being a strictly absolute form, used without a noun. The following table shows these curious dialectical and historical varieties of usage with regard to *án* and its compounds:

	Old North. Eng. & Sc.	*Middle Scotch.*	*Modern Scotch.*	*Old South. English.*	*Modern English.*
Numeral, alone.	an (ane)	ane (an)	eäne	one (on, oon)	one
„ *bef. vowel.*	an (ane)	ane (an)	eäe	one (on, one)	one
„ *bef. cons.*	a	ane (an)	eäe	o, oo	one
Indef. Artl. bef. vowel.	an (ane)	ane (an)	ăn	an	an
„ „ *bef. cons.*	a	ane (an)	ă	a	a
Negative, alone.	nan (nane)	nane (nan)	neane	none	none
„ *bef. vowel.*	nan (nane)	nane (nan)	neae	none	no, none
„ *bef. cons.*	na	na	neae	no	no
Compound, alone.	the tan, -e	the tane	the teane	that one	the one
„ *bef. vowel.*	the tan, -e	the tane	the teae	that one	the one
„ *bef. cons.*	the ta	the ta	the teae	that o (oe)	the one

Thys and *that* are the neuter forms of the Ags. demonstratives þis or þys, and þæt, of which the latter was likewise used as the Definite Article, and as the Relative. *The* is the uninflected stem of the same word, which at an early period in the Northern dialect, and later in the Southern, supplanted the various inflected genders and cases, when used as the simple article. While *Cursor Mundi* and Hampole used *the, this,* and *that,* exactly according to modern practice, the contemporary Southern dialect had *twelve* inflected forms of *this,* and no less than *fifteen* of *the* or *that,* a striking instance of the earlier date and more rapid rate at which the grammatical revolution was carried through in the north. In the phrase *the tane, the tother* = thet-ane, thet-other, Ags. þæt án, þæt óþer, we have, as already remarked, an instance of the retention, in a disguised form, of the old neuter article thæt, thet.

Thae (South Sc. *theae*) represents þá or þée, the plural of þæt, Semi-Saxon and Old Southern and Midland English *tho,* Old North. Eng. and Scotch *tha, thaa,* another form of which is *thay,* English *they,* O.E. *thei,* O.N.Eng. *thai,* the pronoun of the third person plural. þa was in Anglo-saxon a demonstrative = *illi, isti, those, the*; but already in the Lindisfarne Glosses we find it used as the equivalent of *hia, hea* (South Saxon hig, hí), the plural of the third personal pronoun. Some time between the date of these Glosses and the end of the 12th century, the proper pronoun went entirely out of use, leaving þa in its place, which was split into two forms þa (*tha, thaa, thae,*) demonstrative, and þai (*thai, thay,*) the pronoun, a distinction still retained by the Scottish and Northern English dialects. Thus:

Cursor Mundi:— If þai suld for þaa feluns prai
It war gain godd and gret derai.

Hampole :— Ay when *þai* on *þa* paynes thoght

Barbour :— Thomas Randell was ane of *þa*
Þat for his lyff become *þair* man;
Of othyr *þat* war takyn *þan*,
Sum *þai* ransownyt, sum *þai* slew
And sum *þai* hangyt, and sum *þai* drew.
The Erle Jhone wes ane of *þa*, etc,

Gawain Douglas:— —his expert mate Sibylla
Taucht him *thay* war bot vode gaistis all *tha*,
Bot ony bodyis.

Modern Scotch :— Dynna teake *theae*, *thay* wunna weir weill.
Dont take those, they will not wear well.

So in the Cleveland dialect :—

Wheea's *theea* tweea bairns, sa' thee? Whuh! *they* belongs me.
Scotch:—Quheae's theae tweae bairns, say-ye? Wuh! thay belang mey.

As early as 1230, the *Ormulum* shows the northern distinction between *tha* and *thay*, which Orrmin wrote *þa* and *þeȝȝ* :

Þeȝȝ haffden sexe fettles *þær*, att tatt bridaless sæte,
And twafald o*þ*err *þ*refald met, *þa* fettles alle tokenn;
And Crist badd *þatt þeȝȝ* sholden gan, and fillenn *þeȝȝre* fettless.
Wi*þþ* waterr, and *þeȝȝ* geden till, and didenn *þatt* he seȝȝde.

The Southern dialect was much slower in adopting the Northern pronouns; the *Ayenbite*, 1340, has still the old forms, *Nom.* hy, heo, *Gen.* her, *Acc.* hem. Chaucer, 1360–1400, has adopted the Northern Nom. *they*, but retains Southern *her* and *hem* in the oblique cases. The vernacular of the south of England has still in the 19th century *hem*, *'em*, in the objective, although it has long used *they* and *their*, in the other cases.

In addition to *þa*, *þaa*, Cursor Mundi and Hampole have also, especially as the antecedent of the relative, *þas*, *þaas*, the Midland *þos*, *thos*, *those*.

Cursor Mundi :— *Þaas* o*þ*er sall ha farehed nan.

Hampole :— *Þas þat þe* world serves and loves,
Serves *þe* devel, as *þe* buk proves.

But this form of the demonstrative has long disappeared from the Scottish dialects, where the latter sentence would be *thaim* 'at the warld sers an' luives, etc.

In the earliest or Anglo-saxon period, *þá* and *þás*, were distinct and contrasted forms, *þá* being the plural of *that*, *þás* the plural of *this* = *these*. The *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* glosses, and the *Rituale*, shew that the *Old Northumbrian* was in this respect identical with the classical Anglo-saxon. The same distinction was retained between *þá* and *þás* in the Semi-Saxon period and Southern dialect, where the forms were *regularly* transliterated into *þo*, *þos*, and the latter, in course of time, transformed into *þeos*, *þues*, *þes*, and, finally, *þese*, *þise*, forms in which the kinship to the singular *þes*, *þis*, was more obvious. Thus the Ancren

Riwle has þeo *illi*, þeos *hi*; the Ayenbite þo, þeo, *illi*, þeos, þise, *hi*; Chaucer þo *illi*, þise *hi*.

In the Northern and Midland dialects, where the inflexional power of *-s* as a plural formative was more generally recognized, the distinction of meaning between þa, þo, and þas, þos, was lost sight of between 1100 and 1230, and at the latter date both forms were used synonymously as the plural of *that*. So in the examples quoted from Cursor Mundi and Hampole for the Northern dialect.[1] For the West Midland see the Early English *Alliterative Poems*, edited by Mr. (now Dr.) Morris, in which the value of *þo* and *þose*, is absolutely identical. *This* having thus lost its original plural, new forms made their appearance to supply it, the Northern dialect adopting *þir* (*thir*, *thier*, *ther*, *thur*, *thoor*, *thor*), and the Midland forming a direct plural *þise* from the singular *þis*, in the same way as *al*, *som*, *other*, *his*, *good*, *yvel*, formed plurals *alle*, *some*, *othere*, *hise*, *gode*, *yvele*, in the Midland dialect. (See Chaucer and Wiclyff.[2])

Of the two plurals for *that*, which now (13th & 14th centuries) existed in the Northern and Midland dialects, only one was eventually retained by each. In the Northern dialect the surviving form was þa (*tha*, *thae*), the other form *þas*, *thas*, being absent from the Scottish writers, and totally unknown to the living Scottish dialects (and I believe also to those parts of the North of England which still retain the true Northern speech). In the Midland dialect, on the other hand, þos (those) was triumphant, *þo*, *tho*, being gradually eliminated, perhaps because the former was more distinctly *plural*, and more distinct from the third personal pronoun *thai* and article *the*.

The literary English being, in it main features, of Midland origin, acknowledges the Midland Demonstratives *þise* and *þos*, *these*, *those*, both of which we see are really plurals of *this*; *thos* being the original, *þise*, a newer form introduced after *thos* had passed over to the plural of *that*. *These* and *those* have not, however, been cordially welcomed by the popular speech either in the North or South; the Dorsetshire peasant does not say "I think those houses better than these," but "I think *them* housen better than *theäsem*," from Ags. *þém* and *þisum*, dat. plurals. In the Northern dialect the Scotch has retained *thir* and *tha*, *thae*, as its plural demonstratives. In the North of England, although the influence of the Standard English has been gradually driving

[1] An examination of *Cursor Mundi* and the *Pricke of Conscience* leads to the conclusion that *tha* was used before a plural noun, but *thas* when not followed by a noun, as when antecedent to a relative, in which case the *s* might serve more distinctly to indicate the plural. A similar usage occurs in South Scottish vernacular, where *thir* is often made *thirs* when not followed by a noun.

[2] Dr. Morris (*Allit. Poems*, p. xxvii.) questions the plural value of the final *e* in *thise*. I think it was certainly looked upon as the sign of the plural in the Midland dialect, but there might be a Southern *thise*, *these*, *theose*, from *theos*. The relations of the different forms to one another are very perplexing.

the old dialect northward, so that *thir* and *tha* are not now, as in Richard the Hermit's time, heard in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, we meet with them as *thor* and *theea* in the dialect of Cleveland in the North Riding, and in Cumberland and Westmorland, thur (sound of *u* in *full*), thor, are in regular use as the plural of *this*. But *tha, thae*, is not now used in the two Western Counties, which supply its place by *them*: "I'll gie-tha thur (in my hand) for *them* (in yours);" "Thur's mi aan, them's mi fadther's, an' yon's laal Jacup's." In South Lancashire we find these forms displaced by the Midland *these, thooas*; and in the Barnsley dialect of Yorkshire *thease* seems also to replace the Northern *thir*. In Scotland *thir* and *thae* have, curiously enough, not penetrated beyond the Grampians, the North-eastern Scotch using *thys* and *that* in the plural as well as the singular: "thys beuks an' that pens." (See antè, p. 81.)

Where the literary English uses *those* as the antecedent of the relative, the Lowland Scotch uses the third personal pronoun, in the plural as well as in the singular, as *thaim ăt dyd it*, those who did it; *hym at said seae*, he who said so.

These changes may be tabulated thus:

		Pl. of he.	*Pl. of* the.	*Pl. of* that.	*Pl. of* this.
Ags. Period.	South Saxon	hí, hiȝ		þá, þǽ	þas, þæs
	Northumbrian	hia, hea, & þa		þá, þæ	þas, þæs
Early Engl. Period.	Southern	hi,hy,heo,&c.	þo	þo	þos, þeos, þes, þise
	Midland	þai, þei, they	þo, þe	þo & þos, those	þise, thise
	Northern	þai, thay	þe	þa, tha & þas	ther, thir
Modern.	Dorsetshire	they	the	them	theäsem
	Literary Eng.	they	the	those	these
	Scotch	thay	the	thae	thir, thyr

Thir (S. C. Scotch *thyr* (P. dher), West and Central thur (dhər), Cumberland thūr (dhuur), Westmoreland thoor, thor (dhuur, dhoor); Cursor Mundi and Hampole, *þir, þer, þier, þere*; Hampole's Prose Works, *þire*,) is the northern plural of *this*.

Hampole:—

Bathe *þer* worldes I dar wele say
Sal faile atte the last and pass away.

Þir takens, er tald efter the lettre here,
Bot þe exposicion may be in othir manere.

Þere twa may be taken, bathe wele and wa.
All *þier* benefice hald in mind.

Hampole's Prose Works. "In all *thire*, I soghte Ihesu, bot I fand hym noghte, ffor he lett me wyete by his grace þat he ne is fundene in þe lande of softly lyfande." p. 4.

"He lufes God þat kepis *thire* commandementes for lufe." p. 11.

Gawain Douglas:—"Vyrgil in *thir* VI forsaid bukis, followis the maist excellent Greik poet Homer.

Juno inflammit musing on *thir* casis nyse.

James I.:— To danss thir Damysells them dicht,
Thir Lasses licht of Laits.

Lancelot of the Laik:—

Bot yhe and ek *thir* vthere ladice may,
If that yhow lykith, to the knycht gar say
The mesag.

Lindesay:— Quhen *thir* nouellis dois into Ingland spreid,
Of Londoun, than, the lustie ladies cleir
Will, for my saik, mak dule and drerie cheir.

Roxburgshire.—Quhat dui-ye thynk o' thyr? Yt's noa easíe geattín' ænd-ways i' thyr dærk days. Aa've a hyvvie haand-fu wui aa thyr bairns aboot us. Aa've meade it aa, wui thyr tæn fyng-ers.

Cumberland.—"I coontit ower t' things i' t' basket till they began to shap theirsels intil oa maks o' barnish sangs i' my heid, and I fūnd mysel creùnan' away at sec bits o' rhymes as thūrr."—

I'se flayt to beyde here i' thūrr lang neeghts.

Westmorland.—

"Mapp'm they hev neea Ryshes doon i' thoor laa pleaces."
I'le gee thah thor books if thoo'll gee-mah them. I'le swap thor for them."

Northumberland.—An' she says, *Thor* six measurs he gov us; for he says tiv us, Divent gan away empy te thaw muthor o' law.—*Ruth* iii. 17, *Bonapartean Version.*

When *thir* is used absolutely, without a noun following, it generally becomes *thirs*: "Thirs is meyne." I find this also in the Northumbrian version of Ruth, by J. P. Robson, quoted above:

"Noo, thor's is the fem'lies o' Pharez: Pharez gat Hezron, etc.
—*Ruth* iv. 18.

The true origin of *thir* is somewhat obscure. Most etymologists refer it to the Norse *þær, þæir*, the, those; others derive it from *the-here*, like *thilk*, from *the ylk*, The history of the Northern dialect presents us with a blank at the period of its introduction, and the only certain data in connection with it are these:—

1. *Thir* is totally unknown to the older Northumbrian writings, the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses, and the Ritual, in which *hæc* is always expressed by *þas*, as in the West Saxon.

2. *Thir* is in regular use for *hæc* in the Northern writers from the reappearance of Northern literature in the end of the 12th century, *þas* being either obsolete or = *þa, illa.*

3. *Thir* is now the word for *hæc* in Scotland, and the Northern counties of England.

The difficulty in deducing *thir* from the Norse *þær* arises chiefly from the fact that the latter word did not mean *hæc* but *illa*, being indeed the simple equivalent of the Ags. *þá*, the plural of *that* and *the*. I am informed, however, by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the *Cleveland Glossary*, that the use of *thor* is rather lax in Yorkshire, and that in the strongly Danish district of Cleveland it is used, not for *these*, but for *those*, being synonymous with

thae, while the old Northern *thas*, under the form of *thease*, retains its earliest meaning of *these*, with which *thors* or *thoäse* is also identical in use.[1] It is probable, therefore, that the distinction between these words was originally not so clearly defined as now, and that it was only gradually that *thir* came to have its use as the opposite of *thae*. As regards the derivation from *the-here*, which exactly suits the sense of *thir*, we have the analogy of *thilk*, from *the-ilk*, and the example of the Latin *hic-ce*, the French *ce-ci*, *celui-ci*, *ceux-ci*, and the vulgar English *this-here*, *that-'ere*. It is urged on the other hand that the Northern dialect was averse to such compound forms, and that we have no early examples of any tendency to say *the-here men*, or *tha-here men*. Apart from either derivation we have the fact that the Kentish dialect of the 14th century, in the *Ayenbite* and *Shoreham's Poems*, used *therne*, *thirne*, for *thisne*, acc. masc. of *this*. The exact details of the origin and diffusion of *thir*, between the beginning of the 12th and end of 13th century, have still to be discovered.

Yon, the Mœso-Gothic *jain-s*, German *jen-er*, is not found as a pronoun or adjective in Anglo-saxon,[2] but occurs as an adverbial root in *ȝeond*, *beȝeondan*, etc. It is constantly used in Scotch, in referring to things remote in place or time, where the English would generally use *that*, which in Scotch is used for things nearer to the person addressed; thus, "*yon* or *thon's* a graand hoose ower the waitter," "D'ye meynd yon wunter quhan the snaa lay seae lang onna the grund;" "Aa tælld ye thon teyme aa mæt ye;" "thon was a særmon wurth heirin' last weik;" "*Thys* is meyne, *that*'s yoors, but quhae's auwcht *thon*?" "Quhae was yon ye brocht wi'ye yesterday?"

Thon is probably a corruption of *yon*, developed by analogy of *thys*, *that*, to render it more significantly demonstrative. It is in regular use in all parts of Scotland, in Northumberland, about Shields, and as far south as Teesdale.

I have not found *yon* in Hampole; it is common in the Scottish writers of all periods.

[1] This use of the demonstratives in the Cleveland dialect, as given by Mr. Atkinson, is very curious, shewing as it does *four* forms, *theea*, *thor*, *theäse*, *thors* or *thoäse*, of which the two in *-s* are used as plurals of *this*, and the two without *-s* as plurals of *that*. *Theea* and *theäse* are undoubtedly the Northern forms of the Ags. þá, þás, retaining their original values of *illa*, *hæc*. *Tho(r)*, *thoäse*, or tho(r)s, may be the Midland forms of the same, þo, þos. Or þor may be the Norse þær, retaining its original meaning of *those*. In the *Lonsdale Glossary*, prepared by the late Mr. Peacock, and edited by Mr. Atkinson, we also find "*thoer*, *thore*, pronoun, *these*, *those*," but I suspect that when used definitely, or in contrast, it should be *these* only, as it is in Scotland, in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

[2] While this is passing through the press, Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society, has shown that the Demonstrative ȝeon existed in the older Ags., though apparently afterwards lost in the standard idiom. In the contemporary MS. of King Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral he finds (p. 443) "Aris and gong to ȝeonre byriȝ," Reyse an' gang *to yon toun*.

Douglas:— "To ȝone place ar thay cumyn, thow may take hede,
Quhare now risis ȝone large wall-is stout
Of new Cartage with hie towr-is about."

My chyld cleith the with ȝone kend childis vissage.

Burns:— I'm wae to think upo' *yon* den
Even for your sake.

Ye see *yon* birkie ca'd a lord
Wha struts an' stares an' a' that.

Lancelot of the Laik:—
Who is he ȝone? who may he be, ȝhone knycht,
So still that hovis, and steris not his ren. 2828.

I am not aware of the literary occurrence of *thon*, except in representations of the popular dialect of quite recent date. But its use over the whole area of ancient Bernicia, from the Tees to the Clyde and the Grampians, leads to the conclusion that it must have arisen before the division of the province between England and Scotland. How, otherwise, should it be common to the pitmen of the Tyne, the fishers of Montrose, and the shepherds of Ettrick and Annandale?

THE PRONOUNS.

Pronouns are classed as Personal, Possessive, Interrogative, and Relative; in each class there are *Compound* Pronouns, and many adjectives are used pronominally.

Personal Pronouns.

The usage of the Personal Pronouns in the current Scottish dialects differs essentially from that of the Standard English, being in most respects identical with the French. There is a *direct* or proper *Nominative*, and a *direct Objective*, as well as an *indirect* case, used like the French *moi, toi, lui, eux*, for both Nominative and Objective in certain positions. But while in French this indirect case or *dative* is in its history and derivation distinct from the direct accusative, the indirect case in Scotch is, viewed etymologically, really the objective of the English (the dative or accusative of the Anglo-saxon), while the direct Objective is a contracted or mutilated form.

Sing.	*Nom.*	Aa	[Thow obs.]	Hey	Schui	Hyt (yt, it)
	Obj.	mă (ŭs, 's, 'z)	*replaced by plural*	ym, 'm	'ỹr, 'r	it, 't, 'd
	Ind.	mey		hym	hyr	hyt
Plu.	*Nom.*	Wey	Yee		Thay	
	Obj.	ŭs, 's, 'z	yŭh, yĕh, ye, 'e		thĕm	
	Ind.	huz	yuw		thaim	

Notes.

The Ags. *ic*, Old South. Eng. *ich*, remained in the Scottish writers of the 14th century as *ik* before a vowel or *h*, but the *k* was dropped before a consonant. Thus:

Barbour:—

Betuix a louch-side and a bra,
That wes sa strait *Ik* underta.

Bot thair fayis war ma then thai
Be fifteen hundyr, *Ik* herd say.

I count nocht my liff a stra
Thir angrys may *I* ne mar drey.

But *ik* has, I believe, long been obsolete, and *I*, originally pronounced *ĭ*, as in *ik*, first became diphthongal, as in cry, lie (Pal. *ai*), and was then reduced to the first half of the diphthong (*a*). In all the Scottish, and most of the North English dialects, *I*, when unaccented, is now *ă* or *ĕh* (ɐ, ə), as in the first syllable of *a*bout, *a*mong. In some of the Scotch dialects it is, when emphasized, (*ai*) or (*áe*), but in the Southern Counties there is no trace of the diphthong, and the emphatic form is simply *aa* (*aa*), which may be compared with the Northumbrian *aw*, the Yorkshire *ah*, and Lancashire *aw*.

"Sally, hinny, sit aside us; lang maw bairn, *aw* canna last,
Beukt *aw*'s for the dowley lonnin'; thoo may see *aw*'s sinkan' fast."—
Poems in Newcastle Dialect. By J. P. Robson.

The true Objective Singular mă (formed from *mik*, as ă from *ik*,) is now almost obsolete, except among old people, the plural *us* being regularly used instead, just as in the second person *you* is used for *thee*. Where an old person would say "hey tælld-mă, gi'-mă," the present generation say, "hey tælld-us, gie 's or gie 'z" *in the singular* as in the plural. The same usage prevails over the English part of Bernicia.

"An she says tiv him, What for sud thoo teayk a likin tiv *us*, an' teayk sec notish on *us*, kennin' thit aw's a straingur?"—
Ruth. ii. 10. *Northumberland Dialect.*

Huz is, perhaps, the only Scotch word which aspirates an originally simple vowel; and this is not a modern corruption like the Cockney "hair of the hatmosphere," but an ancient form: compare the Paternoster of the 13th century, given by Mr. Ellis (Early Eng. Pron. p. 442):

Vre bred þat lastes ai
gyue it *hus* þis hilke dai,
and vre misdedis þu forgyue *hus*
als we forgyue þaim þat misdon *hus*.

As in Dutch and Flemish the second person singular pronoun has quite disappeared from the spoken dialect. Even in prayer I have heard an old shepherd say "Ye war oor Faither, aathoa

wey hæd forseaken ye," but as a rule *English* is the liturgical language even among the illiterate, and *thou, thy, thee,* of course used.

The objective of *ye* is yŭh, or yĕh, in most of the Scotch dialects, but in that of the Southern Counties it sinks into simple *ye,* or rather (*y* not being sounded before *e*) *'ee*: pyt it ȯn-yeh. *Tev.* pyt it ón-'ee = onie.

The diphthongal sound of *hey, wey,* is scarcely perceptible when unaccented, in which case they shrink into *hĭ, wĭ* (нi, wi), as *schui, thay,* do into schŭh or schĕh, thĕh (shə, dhə).

The *h* of *hym, hyr, hyt,* is not heard when unemphatic; in such a case *yt* is used before the verb, *it* after, as *yt fæll doon, dyd-it faa?* emphatic *hyt* fæll doon, dyd *hyt* faa? The euphonic change of *it, 't,* into *'d* after a voiced letter has been recognized since the middle of the 15th century, at least. Thus:

"Ratis Raving":—

Ill neuer na seruand to thar lord
He sal thé neuer luf the better for'd. 3534.

An' he it hyd(e) and heil and hald
He is a theif ryght as he *stald* = staw'd, stole it.
Ibid. 3446.

To knaw the cours of þi ȝouthed,
And of the mydys, and of thin eild
As thow has felt, and mar sal *feild* (=feel it).

That neuer man may preif one thé
A taynt of falsat of his gud
Þow art wndone, and (=if) euer þow dud (= dui it).—
Ibid. 3218.

Dunbar, "Complaint to the King":—

Fenȝeing the feiris of ane lord
And he ane strummell, I stand *ford* = for it.

Lyndesay, "Satyre," 2095:—

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang,
Quhilk hangit Jonnye Armistrang,
Of gude hemp, soft and sound;
Gude halie peopill, I stand *for'd*
Quha ever beis hangit with this cord
Neidis never to be dround.

"Gude and Godlie Ballatis," p. 124:—

Then suld we outher do or die,
Or ellis our lyfe we suld lay *for it* (for'd)
And euer to liue in cheritie
Be Christ Jesus, quhilk is our Lord.

Direct and Indirect Forms.—The *Nominative Direct* is used when it immediately accompanies the verb, or is separated from it only by the qualifying adverb. It is used either with or without emphasis.

Aa was theare. Dyd ye heir? Ye suin cam back. Dyd thay dui seae? Yt was aboot fower o'clock. Waar-n' yee theare?

The Indirect form is used for the Nominative—

1. When the Verb is not expressed, as in answer to a question. (So in French.)
2. When the Nominative is separated from the Verb by a Relative or Relative clause, a numeral or a substantive. (So in French.)
3. As the second Nominative (predicate) after the verb *to be*, etc. (So in French.)
4. When the Nominative is repeated for the sake of emphasis, the added nominative being put in the indirect case. (So in French.)
5. When two or more Nominatives form the subject of the same verb. (So in French.)
6. With a participle as the absolute case.

Examples: 1. Quheae was heir? Mey (Fr. moi). 2. Mey, 'at hæs bein theare (Fr. moi, qui ai été là). Thaim 'at hæs, aye geates mair. Yuw tweae was theare. Huz laddies ran æfter them. Yuw eänes kæns aa aboot it. 3. It was yuw (C'était toi). It wasna mey. That's hym. Yt's thaim 'at sood cum fyrst. 4. Mey, aa canna gang (Fr. moi, je ne puis aller). Yuw! yee're aye ahynt. Schui's noa tui lyppen tui, hyr. 5. Yuw an' mey 'll gang ower the feild (Fr. toi et moi, nous irons, etc.). Thaim an huz dyd værra weill thegyther. 6. Hym beyin' seae hungrie. Mey cummin' yn, stoppit the dyn.

The *Objective Direct* is used when an Objective (or two Objectives in different relations, not separated by conjunctions,) occurs after a verb or preposition, *without emphasis*. In pronunciation this form of the Objective is scarcely a separate word, but an enclitic syllable or letter added to the verb or preposition. Some monosyllabic prepositions and verbs blend with these pronouns into a simple sound. Such are *tui, fræ* or *thræ, yn, on, o', wi', gie, gæ, hæ,* thus:

mĕ	tui-ma	fræ-ma	yn-ma	on-ma	o'ma	wui-ma	gi' ma
pr.	(temə)				(əmə)	(wəmə, wemə)	(gimə)
ye	tui-ye	fræ-ye	yn-ye	on-ye	o'ye	wui-ye	gi' ye
pr.	(təi, tei)	(frəi)	(enĭ)	(onĭ)	(oi)	(wəi, wei)	(gei)
hym	tui 'm or tyll'ym	frǣ'm	yn'ym (enəm)	on 'ym (onəm)	ō'm	wui-'m	gie 'm (giim)
hyr	tui'r or tyll'yr	frǣ'r	yn'yr (enər)	on'yr (onər)	ō'r	wui'r	gie 'r (giir)
hyt	tui'd or tyl't	frǣ'd	yn't, yn'd	on't on'd	ō't, ō'd	wui'd	gie 'd (giid)
us	tui'z or tyll-us	frǣ'z	yn-us	on-us (onəs)	ō's (ooz)	wui'z	gie's (giis, giiz)
them	tui-them (tedhəm)	fræ-them	yn-them	on-them	o'them	wui-them	gie-them (gidhəm)

The *Objective Indirect* is used when the Object is from the sense put under emphasis, or when two or more objects, coupled by a conjunction, are governed by the same verb or preposition.

Examples.

Objective Direct. Gi'ma *or* gie's yer haand. Tæll ma *or* tæll-us aa aboot-it. Hey hat-ma *or* hat-us ower the heid. That was sair ageane-ye. Aa saa-ye beath. Dyd-ye heir-'ym ? Hæ-ye hærd-it ? Wad-ye kæn'd, yf ye saa 'd. Pyt the lyd on't. Ther's neathyng yn't. Dynna bey seae hard on'ym. Gie'r hyr deuws. Læt'yr gang. Bryng-us a quhein peirs. Aa'll gi'ye sum. Hey follo't-them. Schui brocht-them tui-them. Hey tuik-them fræ-them.

Objective Indirect. Gie méy yer haand. Tæll méy aa aboot it. Yt was sair ageane yúw—that. Aa saa yúw-tweae. Dyd ye heir hým ? Hæ-ye hærd hýt ? Wad-ye kæn hýt, yf ye saa'd ? Pyt the lyd onna hýt ? Dynna bey hard onna hým ? Læt hýr gang. Bryng húz sum peirs. Aa"ll gie yúw a quhein. Hey follŏ't thaím. Hey tuik thaím thræ-them. Hey tuik-them thræ thaím. Thay're tui yúw and méy. Aa mæt hým an' hýr. Aa want yuw-eänes heir.

After the verbs *give, tell, send, bring, sell,* etc., in such sentences as "Give them to me," "He told it to them," the order of the pronouns is reversed in Scotch, that expressing the Dative relation being put first without a preposition, thus : *gie mey them, hey tæld-them't.* The same position is maintained with nouns, *Hey gæ the dreyver them, wey browcht-them wurd, thay bowcht ther faither a hoose.*

In the case of two pronouns, they may be both direct, both indirect, or one of each form, according to the sense regulating the emphasis or stress of the voice. Thus, he gave it to you = hey gæ-ye'd ; he gave it to YOU = hey gæ yuw'd ; he gave IT to you = he gæ-ye hyt ; he gave IT to YOU = hey gæ yuw hyt. So he gives it to the man = hey gies the man 'd ; he gives IT to the man = hey gies the man hyt.

From which it appears that a pronoun may be added enclitically to another pronoun or a noun, as well as to a verb.

Gie mey'd, gie yuw'd, gie hym'd, gie hyr'd, gie huz't, gie thaim'd. So *gie the man'd, gie the bairn't, gie the burd it,* give it to the man, the child, the bird.

When both pronouns are unemphatic, they are both enclitic, thus :—

gi'ma't,	gi'ye'd,	gīe'm't,	gie'r't,	gie'd-it,	gie's't,	gie-them't
give it to me,	it to you,	it to him,	it to her,	it to it,	it to us,	it to them
tæll-ma't,	tæll-ye't,	tæll'ym't,	tæll'yr't,	tæll-us't,		tæll-them't
tell it me,	it to you,	it to him,	it to her,	it to us,		it to them

Eäne (yen) Eng. *one,* Fr. *on,* is an indefinite personal pronoun. Its objective is *eäne,* but in a reflective sentence *eane'ssæl.* "Eäne leykes tui sey that ;" "yt dyz eäne muckle guid ;" "Wad eäne hurt eane's-sæl ?"

Instead of *eäne, a buodie* (i.e. *persona,* a person,) is often used, *e.g.* "A buodie leykes tui sey that ;" "yt dyz a buodie muckle

guid;" "wad a buodie hurt thersel, yf thay fæll owre theare?" the plural pronoun being used with *buodie* to signify the generalness of the idea, and indefiniteness in gender.

Possessive Pronouns.

These are of two classes, those used *Adjectively*, and those used *Absolutely*.

The *Adjective* Possessives are *maa*, *yoor* (or *yuwr*), *hys*, *hyr* (*hyts*), *oor*, *thayr*; when not accented pronounced *mă*, *yer* or *'eer*, *'yz*, *'yr*, *'yts*, *oor* or *wer*, *ther*; as my father, *mă faither*, MY father, *māā faither*; your daughter, *yer* or *'eir dowchter*; YOUR daughter, *yoor* or *yuwr dowchter*.

The *Absolute* Possessives are *meyne*, *yoors* or *yuwrs*, *hys*, *hyrs* (*hyts*), *oors*, *thayrs*.

Maa bears the same relation to *my* that *aa* does to I; it is the first element of the diphthong, which is still (*maai*, *maae*, *maaə*, *maa'*) in some of the dialects. *Maa* or *my* has been formed from *mine*, Ags. mín, in the same way as *ae*, *nae*, from *ane*, *nane*, *i.e.* by dropping the final *n*, first before a consonant, and at length before all nouns, leaving *mine* as an absolute form only, used without a noun. In the case of the other pronouns the adjective form is the original, from which the absolute is formed by adding *s*.[1]

These forms arose in the Northern dialect, and the tendency to carry the analogy farther is shewn by the form *meynes*, often heard in South Scottish vernacular, "aa'll gi'ye *yoors*, quhan ye bryng mey *meynes*;" "*meynes* is the bæst æfter aa." Had not the distinction between *my* and *mine* come into existence, *mine* and *mines* would analogically have been the English forms. We see a similar extension of analogy in some of the Midland English dialects, which have adopted the *n* distinction, and formed *ourn*, *yourn*, *hisn*, *hern*, *theirn*, which in *use* and *form* bear the same relation to *our*, *your*, *his*, that *mine* and *thine* do to *my* and *thy*, though having of course a very different history.

The word *hyts* is, as in English, of very recent formation, and but little used. Instead of *yts heid*, *yts han'le*, *yts ayn*, are generally used *the heid o'd*, *the han'le o'd*, *the ayn o'd*, or *ayn o't*. The Northern English likewise eschews *its*: "*it* heead, it han'le, leeak at it een," Sc. "luik at the ein o't."

Interrogative Pronouns.

The simple Interrogatives are *Quheae* (Central dialects *quhae*, *quha*, N.E. *faa*, North Eng. *wheea*,) and *quhat*. In

[1] See Dr. Morris's Introduction to the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. liv., giving the quotation from *Cursor Mundi*:—

A man of thair gains an of ur,
If *urs* may him win in stur,
That thai be *urs* and thair airs;
If they win *urs* that we be *thairs*.

Whence it appears that *urs* and *thairs* were originally double possessives = of ur, of thair.

asking the precise person or thing of several, *quhulk* or *quhylk*, which?

The Possessive of *quheae* is *quhease* (*whase*, *quhas*). The Objective, in poetry and in all the old writers, *quham*, *wham*, is in the spoken tongue of the present day, the same as the Nominative.

Quheae yr yee? Quheae d'ye sey? Quhat's yon cumand? Quhat dyz hey say? Quhulk wull ye teake? Quhulk's yer freind? Quhease schuin waar thay? Aa kæn-na quheae yee bey. Deir kæns aa quhat hey said.

When *quhat* and *quhulk* are used adjectively before a noun they usually become *quhat'n*, *quhulken*. "Quhat'n clease wull ye pytt on the day?" With the article added *quhat'n a*, *quhulk'n a*, are equivalent to the German *Was für ein*? "Quhat'n a noyse is that?" *Was für ein Lärm ist das?* "Quhulk'n a cuintrieman mæ hey bey?" *Was für ein Landsmann sei er?* "Quhat 'n a fuil was yee tui heid them?" *How were you such a fool as to mind them?*

Quhat'n is probably derived from the old *quhat-kyn*, *what-kin*.

Hampole:—

What-kyn thyng may fouler be
Þan a mans carion es to se.

Alex. Scot (about 1660):—

Quhattane ane glaikit fule am I
To slay myself with melancoly?

The Possessive *quhease* is seldom used, except before a noun, as "*quhease beiss ys yon?*" Whose beasts are those? In other positions, a curious phrase is substituted, the etymology of which is difficult to trace. Instead of *Whose is that?* we find in Scotch and Northern English, *Quheae's auwcht thàt?* or *quheae's owcht that?* (Aberdeen, *Faa's aicht that?* Cleveland, *Wheea's aught that*), or more commonly, *quheae's aa that?* or *quheae's ŏ that?* Perhaps the full phrase is *quheae is awcht o' that?* Who is possessed of that? Who is the owner of that? *awcht* being the past participle of the Ags. verb *agan*, *ahan*, to have, to possess, (Mæso-Gothic *aihan*. Greek ἔχ-ειν). Whatever the etymology, this is the ordinary phrase used to express sentences beginning with *Whose* and the verb to be. "Quheae's auwcht that doag? Quheae's aa thyr duiks? Quheae was auwcht (*or* aa) the syller 'at ye fand? Quheae was aa thys hoose afuore yee bowcht it? Aa dynna kæn quheae cood bey auwcht it (*or* aa'd); quheae'll bey auwcht them (*or* aa them) a hunder yeir æfter thys?" We cannot say, *Aa'm auwcht it*, or *hey's auwcht-it*, but only *yt's meyne*, or *yt belangs tui mey*, etc. *Auwcht* can only be used with the Interrogative and Relative, and some Indefinite pronouns, as *thaim at's auwcht it*, those whose it is; *ther maun bey sumbodie auwcht it*, it must belong to somebody. So with *neaebodie*, *oniebodie*, *quheaever*.

Quhulk being properly an adjective has *eäne* usually added, when used without a noun; "Quhulk eäne wull ye hæ? Quhulk eänes dui ye mein?"

Quhat is used in exclamation, as "Quhat a breycht stærn!"

The Preposition governing the Interrogative is always placed at the end of the sentence or clause, "Quheae wull ye gie them tui? Quhat yr ye thynkand aboot? Quhulk eäne wad hey bey bæst pleis't wui?"

The Relative.

The simple Relative of the Scottish and Northern English dialects is *ät*, "the man *ät* was heir, thaim *ät* said seae, yuw *ät* dyd it, the burd (*ät*) ye schòt." (The word is never accented, but pronounced like the syllable *at* or *et*, in *carat*, *garret*, *mallet*.)

As to the origin of *ät* see p. 96. Whencesoever derived, we find it in the Northern dialect from the 13th century; at first, as it appears, most commonly for the conjunction *that*. As the *relative* we find it only once in Hampole, but in later writers, as in the Scottish poets of the Early period, it is more commonly used than *that* as the relative, and it is now everywhere in use in the popular language, from the Humber to the Pentland Firth.

Hampole (*conj.*):—

Swa wald God *at* it suld be.

* * * na difference bot *at* the tane
Has ende, and the tother has nane.

(*rel.*) Namli of þat *at* him fel to know.
þat might meke his herte and make it law.

Barbour:— And *at* he boune wes in all thing
To tak with him the gud and ille.

"yon folk"
Schapis thaim to do, with slycht,
That *at* thai drede to do with mycht.

Fra *at* the Brwce to dede war brocht.

Henry:— Befor the tyme *at* King Edward it fand.
He drew a suerde *at* helpit him at neid.

Nane wes tharin *at* gret defens couth ma,
Bot wemen fast sar wepand in to wa.

Craft of Deyng:—

He gaif to the maist synare maist mercy and grace, as to Petyr *at* denyd hyme, to Paul *at* persewit hyme, to Matho the okerar, etc.

Ratis Raving:—

Here efter followis þe consail and teiching *at* the wyss man gaif his sone.

That ay, quhen *at* thai one it luke,
Thay pray for hyme that maid the buk.

Gawain Douglas:—

At thare bene mony goddis, I will not say.
Bot *at* sic thinges are possibill this I schewe.

Thare renȝeis and thetis *at* thaym areistis.

Douglas was almost the last Scottish writer who used *at*; for in the 16th century it went entirely out of use in literature, being replaced by *quhilk, quhilkis*, probably owing to the influence of French fashion. I do not remember to have met with a single instance of the relative *at* in Lyndesay, Lauder, or the *Complaynt of Scotland*, a very remarkable circumstance when we think how regularly it was used by the writers of the 15th century, and that it is the common form in actual use at the present day.

In the modern dialects of the North of England we find it represented under the various forms *at, 'at, ut, et*, all indicating the same sound (ət) or (ʊt), thus:

Lancashire.—"Aw'd say, for thoose *ut* wanten mayte, let's groo it for 'em for thoose *ut* wanten clooas, let's wayve th' cloth, an' mak 'em; for thoose *ut* wanten foyer, let's get cooals for 'em."—*Bundle o' Fents.*

Barnsley.—"Them *at's* nivver reight but when they're at t' top a t' tree, or wants ta be goin ovver t' head a ivvry boddy *at's* abaaht em."—

T' Bairnsla Foaks Annual, 1866.

Cleveland.—"Is there nought *at* Ah can dee? Nowght *at* Ah can tell. Ah said *at* Ah wad, an' Ah ded."—*Cleveland Glossary.*

Westmorland.—"I sum meear owms theear wes o maks a things *et* ivver ya cud neeam, things *et* thae sed hed leev't lang afooar t' world wes meead."

"*Jonny Shippard*" at the British Museum.

High Furness:—
It's oa a heeap o' māpment
Ut say, *'at* this or that,
Sūd put things off i' thissan—
Thow toaks thow knā 'sn't what!

Cumberland.—"He said iv his oan mak' o' toke, *'at* he dudn't want to hinder wark, but he wad give anybody *'at* ken't t' fells weel, a matter o' five shillin' to gā wid him, an' carry two lāl bags."—*Joe and the Geologist.*

If iv'ry teàl *'at* 's tell't be true, thy stwory's neà lee.
Roxburgh:— Yf ylka teale *'at* 's tæll'd bey treuw, yer stuorie's neae ley.
Lothian:— Gin ilkae taele at's tèll't bee troo, yer storie's nae lee.

The Interrogative *quheae, quha, who*, is not used as a relative in the spoken Scotch, as it is in modern English. For its use by Scottish *writers* since the middle of the 16th century see pp. 69-70.

The living Northern dialects follow the old Teutonic usage of identifying the relative, not with the interrogative but with the demonstrative.[1]

[1] The original relative form of the Aryan languages *ya* as distinguished from the interrogative *ka* (qua, hwa), and the demonstrative *ta* (tha, sa, ha), seems to have disappeared at a very early period, leaving its place to be supplied in the Teutonic, Hellenic, and Celtic branches by the demonstrative, and in the Italic, Slavonic, and Iranic, by the interrogative. The original Teutonic relative was the same as the demonstrative, or a contraction or modification of it, as Mœso-Gothic *thata, thatei*, Anglo-saxon *þæt, þe*, Old Norse *þat, er* (for *þer*); in the modern German, Dutch, etc., *welcher, welk, which*, is used in addition to the demonstrative. Such was also the case in Middle English, as shewn in the authorized version of the Bible, where the two usual relatives are *that* and *which*—"him *that* cometh unto me," "Our father *which* art in heaven," The use of *who* is rare, and confined chiefly to the oblique cases—"*whose* I am, and *whom* I serve." Since that time, how-

Quhulk (*quhilk*), so commonly used as a simple relative in the Middle Scottish writers, is used in the spoken dialect as a *Compound Relative*, when the antecedent is a sentence or clause: "Hey said 'at hey mæt us onna the muir, quhulk wasna the case." But a common substitution for this is to resolve the Relative into a conjunction and demonstrative, "and that," or "but that."

When the Relative is used in the Possessive Case (*whose*) it is necessary to express it by the conjunction *at* (*that*) and the *possessive pronoun* belonging to the antecedent; thus, "the man *ăt hys* weyfe's deid" the man *whose* wife is dead, "the wumman *ăt* yee kæn *hyr* sun" the woman whose son you know, "the doag *ăt yts* læg was run ower" the dog whose leg was run over.

The same primitive form of the relative is used in Hebrew, as עֵץ אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ בוֹ the tree *that its* seed is on it, *i.e.* the tree *whose* seed is on it; האישׁ אשׁר נמצא הגביע בידו the man *that* the cup is found in *his* hand; כל אישׁ ואשׁה אשׁו נדב לבם אתם every man and woman *that their* heart hath inclined them, *i.e. whose* heart; אשׁרי העם שׁיהוה אלהיו Blessed is the people *that their* God is Jehovah, *i.e. whose* God. Numerous instances of the same usage occur in Anglo-saxon. Thus from the *Elene*: Se God ðe ðis his beacen wæs, *the God that this was his sign*, i.e. *whose* sign this was. In the *Pastoral*: se biþ eac eallenga healede, se-ðe eall his mod biþ aflowen to gælbærnesse, *he is also altogether hernious*, (or rather *hydrocelous*), *that his* (*i.e.* whose) whole mind is addicted to wantonness.[1]

A good example from the Early Scotch is afforded by the Act of Parliament of James II., 19th Oct., 1456:

> Item it is ordanyt at ilk man, þat *his* (*i.e.* whose) gudis extendis to xxli merckis, be bodyn at þe lest with ane Jak with slevis to þe hande, or ellis a payr of splentis, a sellat or a prikit hatt, a suerde and a buclare, a bow and a schaif of arrowis.

The same construction is used in Welsh, and in many other languages.

For inferior animals and inanimate objects, *hyts* being but little in use, *o't*, *o'd*, is used, as "the hoose 'at the ænd o't fæll," "the scheip at the tail o't was cuttit off."

ever, the use of *who* as a simple relative has become more and more common, until it has quite supplanted *which* when applied to persons. This peculiarity, which distinguishes English from the other Teutonic tongues, is no doubt owing to its more intimate connection with French and the other Romance languages, in which the same word *qui* has represented both relative and interrogative from the earliest period.

[1] Mr. H. Sweet, who kindly found me the above examples, remarks: "In Anglo-saxon the same analytical construction is also found in the other cases, of which the following is a good instance, showing at the same time how loosely and diffusely the relative pronoun is often expressed. Hit is wen ðæt se ne mæge oðerra monna scylda ofaðuean, se se-ðe hine ðonne giet his agena on herigeað, *it may be imagined that he cannot absolve the sins of other men, he he-that him his own* (*sins*) *even yet assail*, *i.e.* he *whose* own still assail him. I think the Ags. generally shirks the possessive construction of the relative altogether. The more usual construction of the last example would be ðone ðe his; or less usual, simply þe *or* þone his."

With a noun in the objective the *hyt* or *'t* may be omitted; as, "the hoose ăt ye sey the ænd o'; the scheip ăt aa buistit the heid o'; the trey, ăt he sæld the fruit o', 's deid." The form of the sentence may also be changed; thus instead of "the man ăt hys cuot's tuorn," may be said, the man ăt hæs hys cuot tuorn, or, the man wui the tuorn coat. The styck át the heid o't 's broken, or, the styck át hæs the heid o't broken, or the styck wui the heid o't broken. Sometimes the personal pronoun is repeated for the sake of distinction, as, "the aald màn, hym át hys læg was broken, cam hyrplan, oot."

When the Relative is used in the Objective case, the Preposition or Verb by which it is governed always follows it, "The man 'at ye gæ'd tui," the man to whom you gave it.

An ellipsis of the Relative is extremely common, especially when it is the object of a verb or preposition, or a nominative in sentences beginning with *there is, there was*, etc. "The deyke ('at) ye built, the fuok hey mæt, the pleace ye cam fræ, an' the geate ye cam be." "Ther's monie eäne duis that;" "the' war a lot o' fuok cam tui sey quhat hey dyd;" "ther'll bey plaintie 'll lyssen tyll 'ym;" "Aa baid a lang quheyle, but the' war neaebodie cam." "Aa kænn'd a man geade oft theare." The Northern writers generally, but especially those of Scotland, used such elliptical phrases constantly:

Cursor Mundi:— Bot a point es þar þam pines mare
þan elles al þair oþer fare.

Gawain Douglas:—

Syne perdoun me sat sa fer in my lycht.

Ane sang "The schip salis our the salt fame,
Wil bring thir merchandis and my lemane hame."

Compound Pronouns.

Compound Personal Pronouns are formed by adding *sel* (sæl), *sels* (sæls) to the Possessives: *Ma-sel, yoor-sel* or *yer-sel, hys-sel, hyr-sel, yts-sel* or *the sel o't, oor-sel* or *oor-sels, yoor-sel,* or *-sels, thair-sel* or *-sels.*

In the plural there is a double form: *oor-sel, yoor-sel, thair-sel,* are used when the idea is collective: *oor-sels, yoor-sels, thair-sels,* when the idea is segregate. Thus, "Wey'll dui'd oorsel; Ye maun keip thyr be thair-sel." But "Gang away yeir tweae sels; wey'll speik it ower amang oor-sels; yt hæs bein eäne o' yeir-sels." In the third person neuter, "the burd hurt *the sel o't*; trye yf yt can staand *the sel o'd;* aa fand that eäne lyeand be *the sel o'd,*" antiq. *the selvin.*

The contraction *sel, sell,* for *self, selue,* or *selven,* is met with already in the end of the 15th century:

Thairfoir I red that thow excuse *thy sell,*
And rype thy mynd how every thyng befell.

He that hes gold and greit richess,
And may be into mirryness,
  And dois glaidness fra him expell,
And levis into wretchitness
  He wirkis sorrow to *him sell*.—Dunbar.

Tak thair the Buik; lat se gif ȝe can spell.
I neuir red that: thairfoir reid it ȝour *sel*.—Lyndesay.

Gawain Douglas has usually *selvin, seluyn*:

Quhat helpis thus *thy seluyn* to torment?

Not that oure toung is in *the selvin* skant,
But for that I the fouth of langage want.

Sel, it is to be observed, is treated as a noun, hence, *the sel o'd*, the self of it, *hys-sel, thair-sel*, not *him-sel, them-sel*, and the emphatic form *hys ayn sel*, or *hys værra ayn sel*. From *sel* is formed the adjective *sellie, sœllie*, selfish. *Self* occurs in *sœlf-saim*, "hey was sein theare the sælf-saim nicht."

Compound Possessives add *ayn* (aan, awn, awen) to the simple form: *maa ayn, hys ayn, our ayn*, etc. In the first person we often hear *mān-ayn* or *myn-ayn*, a relic of the old *min-aȝen* or *min-awen*. The *n* is sometimes by a false analogy extended to the other persons, as oor-n-ayn. (Compare *nothir* for *other*.) For *hyts-ayn* is generally used *the ayn o't*.

Compound Interrogatives and *Relatives* are such as *quheae-ever, quhease-ever, quhat-ever, quhulk-ever*, and *quhat* used for *that which*, "hæ-ye geatten quhat ye wântit?"

Adjectives used as Pronouns. Most of the Demonstrative and Numeral adjectives can be used as pronouns, *i.e.* to *represent* a noun as well as to *qualify* one. But in Scotch it is common to add *eäne, eanes*, in reference to objects, *thyng* in reference to quantities of stuff, as *thys eane, that eane, thon eane, thyr eanes* (or *thyrs*), *yon eanes, ylk eane* (ylk yen or ylkin), *sum eanes; thys-thyng, that-thyng, aa-thyng, sum-thyng, onie-thyng, neae-thyng*. "Ye're aither aa-thyng or neae-thyng wui hym." *Eane* and *thyng* are in the same way added to ordinary adjectives, which would in English generally stand alone, as "aa'll bye a quhein nytts yf thay're *guid-eanes*. Thay're unco *smaa-eanes*. Aa dynna leyke saat butter, hæ-ye neae *frœsch-thyng?* Wey'll hæ sum *neuw-thyng* ynn the-muorn. Aa've sum mair peaper, but yt's noa syc *guid-thyng* as that," Eng. not so good as that. "Wad ye leyke sum black ynk, or sum *bleuw-thyng?*" In this application *-thyng* has not an independent accent, but is added to the preceding adjective, as in no-*thing*, any-*thing*; *eane* also is pronounced like the termination *-yan* or *-ion, e.g.* "hæd hey a black horse or a dun-eäne," where the last two words rhyme with *Bunyan*.

The compounds *sumbuodie, oniebuodie, neabuodie, aabuodie,*

yvvrie-buodie, are used with a plural pronoun to express their indefiniteness in gender, as "sumbuodie hæs læft ther fytt-mærks ahynt them; Yt's værra sældum 'at oniebuodie fynds ther way theare."

THE VERB.

As in the other Teutonic languages and dialects the leading features of the Verb depend upon the form taken by the Past Tense and Past Participle, in accordance with which two main divisions are made, the *Strong* Verbs, or consonantal stems, and the *Weak* Verbs, originally derivative, and ending in a vowel termination.

The Weak Verbs.

In the Old Scotch the Past Tense and Past Participle were formed by adding *it*, *yt*, to all verbs of this class. In the modern dialects this full form undergoes certain euphonic changes in accordance with the character of the preceding letter or syllable. In the Southern Counties the usage is as follows:—

1. The full form is retained only by Verbs ending in a "shut consonant" (k, t, p, g, d, b), as *lyck lyckit, teaste teastit, slyp slyppit, rug ruggit, bænd bændit, rub rubbit, bonnet bonnetit, plaid plaidit, profit profitit, scollop scollopit.*
2. After any other consonant, except a liquid or nasal, the vowel is elided and *-t* retained, as *suwch suwch't, graith graith't, snuff snuff't, baaithe baaith't, deive deiv't, pàss pass't, leace leace't, ax ax't, bryz bryz't, fysch fysch't, fætch fætcht, juidge juidge't.*

1. So also with a *liquid* or *nasal*, preceded by another consonant, as *airm airm't, turn turn't, dyrl dyrl't, lys'n lys'n't, wars'le wars'l't, ættle* intend, *ættle't.*

2. This rule moreover includes all words of more than one syllable unaccented on the last, except such as fall under Rule I., as *honour honour't, wunder wunder't, plainish plainish't, hærken hærken't, wurrie wurriet, follò, follò't, mairrie mairriet.*

3. After a *liquid*, a *nasal*, or a *vowel*, in a monosyllable or accented syllable, the connecting vowel is elided and *-t* becomes *-d*, as *tæll tæll'd, smuir smuir'd, deim deim'd, steane steaned, belang belangd, dey deyed, staye stayed, rowe rowed, woo wooed, trye tryed, entail entail'd, mentein mentein'd.*

In the more Northern Scottish dialects *t* is retained in these verbs; thus, *tèll tèlt, kyll kylt, dee dēēt, trye try't, stey* or *stuy*

stuy't; anciently spelt *deyit, stayit, kyllit, belangit,* etc.; but as early as the 15th century the pronunciation was the same as that now used in the Southern Counties. Compare such rhymes as the following, where *begylyt* is of course to be read *begyled*:

Thai leif furth as the bestys wyld
Till courss of eild have thaim begylyt.—*Ratis Raving*, 2310.

In the 16th century the *-d* was also written—

Als I pray to the Rude
That Martin Luther that fals loun,
Black Bullinger, and Melancthoun,
Had been *smorde* in their cude.—Lyndesay—*Satyre*, 2070.

Heir, quhat our Pastouris thay may spend,
Me neidis nocht schaw; sen it is *kend*.—

Geue thay godds wourd hes weill *declaird*,
I saye thare leueings ar weill *waird*.
Lauder—The Office, 327.

Where these are written instead of *smurit, declarit, warit, kennit* or *kent*.

The deviations from these rules may be classed under the following heads:

1. A change of *quantity*, in the long vowel being *stopped* by the consonant added (in a few much-used words only) *say, sāid* (for *sāy'd*), *lay lāid, geae gēāde* (for *gēāed*), *hē, hēd*.
2. A slight change in vowel *quality*, as *dui, dyd* (for *dui'd*), *schui schod, heir hærd* or *hàrd, tæll tæll'd* or *taald*.
3. A transposition of consonants, as *burn brunt, wurk wrocht*.
4. An elision of *t* or *d* of the stem before *t* or *d* of the termination, with or without modification of the vowel, as *sænd, sænt*[1] (for *sændit, sænd't*), *meit mæt, spreid spræd*.

But many verbs contracted in the literary English remain full in Scotch, as *bænd, bændit*. Others develop a new strong form, as Eng. *let, let, let,* Scotch *læt, luit, luitten*. so *sæt, suit, suitten*; *put,* Scotch *pyt, pàt, putten*.[2]

5. A modification of the consonant (and vowel) before *-t*, as *leive, læft, bryng, browcht* (for *brought*), *wurk, w'rocht* (for *wurkt, w'rukt*); *thynk thowcht, bye bowcht, catch caucht, cleik* or *clutch claucht, meake made* (Ags. *macod*).

[1] In older Scotch the past tense of *send* was *send*; Anglo-saxon *he sende*.
Chryst efter his glorious Ascentioun,
Tyll his Disciplis *send* the Haly Spreit.—Lyndesay.

[2] This is as old, at least, as the 16th century:
Thay *lute* the leiges pray to stocks and stanes
And paintit papers (ăt) wats nocht quhat thay mein.—
Alex. Scot—*New Year's Gift to Queen Mary*.
Witht in the quhilk he *pat* five thousand fut men and horse men.—
Complaynt of Scotland, fol. 133 (138) *b*.
I met Gude Counsall be the way
Quha *pat* me in ane fellon fray.—Lyndesay's *Satyre*, l. 686.

To this section belong those peculiar stems, which, originally strong pasts, have adopted a present signification and developed a new past: *wyll* or *wull wad, sall suid, can cuid, mæ meycht, daar durst, dow dowcht, aa aucht* or *owcht, wait* or *wàt wust.* Many of these serve as auxiliaries, among which see their full conjugation.

The Strong Verbs.

These form the Past Tense by strengthening or modifying the stem vowel. The Past Participle ends in *-en,* but this termination is dropped whenever a nasal (*m, n,* or *ng*) is found in the preceding syllable.[1] Thus *beyte, bait, bytten;* but *clym, clam, clum* (for *clumben*); *fynd, fand, fund* (for *funden*); *ryng, rang, rung* (for *rungen*). In *drynk* we may thus drop the *-en* and make *drunk,* or we may expel the *n* of the stem, and retain the termination, *drukk-en* (compare the Norse *drukken*). In *cum-en,* after dropping the *-en, d* is added to distinguish the past participle from the present tense: "thay're *cum'd,*" Eng. *come,* Old Northern dialect *cum-en.*

The change from the strong *cum-en* to the weak *cum-it, cumd,* took place in the 16th century. In Henry Charteris's Preface to his edition of Lyndesay's Poems, Edin., 1568, within half a dozen lines we have both forms "¸it war thay not *cummit* to that furie and rage, as to bryle and scald quha sa euer suld speik aganis them"—"bot quhan thair iniquities was *cummin* to maturitie, God raised up Johne Wicleif," etc. For the pronunciation of *cummit,* compare l. 32 of the "Deploratioun" in this same edition of Lyndesay—

That brybour had nocht *cummit* within hir boundis—

with the reading of the Paris edition—

That brybour had nocht *cumd* wythin hir bundis.

These Verbs may be classed according to the changes which they undergo; thus:

1. Stems in *a* changing in the past to *e* (S.C. *æ*), and in the past participle resuming *a,* as *hald* or *hàd, hæld, halden* or *hàdden.* This verb and *faa, fæll, faa'en,* drop *l* after *a,* but retain it after *e* in the past tense. Where there was originally a guttural, now represented by *w,* the present tense is *aa* for *aw,* as *blaa, bleuw* (*blew*) *blaa'en*; or *ow,* as *growe, greuw, grown.*

[1] This rule is of course unwritten, but it is invariable; I have not observed the same regularity in the dialect of any other district or of any period. No rule can be given for the dropping or retention of *-en* in the Book-English.

2. Stems in *ai* (S.C. *ea*), with the past *ai*, and past participle resuming *ai* (*ea*); as *beake, buik, beaken, teake, tuik, tea'n* for *teaken.*

This contraction is as old as the 13th century; *Cursor Mundi* and Hampole, Barbour, Harry, and Gawain Douglas, have not only *tane,* but also *ta* and *tas,* like the modern Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Cursor Mundi :— But þai folow ay þair awen wille
And of noght elles þynkes ne *tas* hede.

And yheld agayn, if he be myghty,
Alle þat he *tas* wrangwysly.

Hampole :— But bi þe name of ded may be *tane*
And understanden ma dedes þan ane.

In þat state þat he is in *tane*
He sal be demed when he is gane.

Gawain Douglas :—
The auld gray all for nocht to him *tais*
His hawbrek quhilk was lang out of usage.

Our inemyis has thir worthy wallis *taine*
Troy from the top down fallis, and all is gane.

Wyntown :— His way out of that land he *tays.*

Barbour :— He bad him men of armys *ta*
And in hy to Scotland ga.

Him that myght othir *ta* or sla
Robert the Bruce that was his fa.

Harry :— Quhen Wallace herd the erll sic ansuer *mais* (makes)
A gret hate ire throw his curage he *tais* (takes).

3. Stems in *e* (S.C. *æ*) past in ui, and past participle in *ui*, as *læt, luit, luitten; thræsch, thruisch, thruischen.*

4. Stems in *ei* long, past in *ui* or *uo*, past participle in *uo*, as *scheir, schuir* (or *schuore*), *schuorn; beir, buir* (or *buore*), *buorn.*

5. Stems in *i* (*y*), *ei* short, or *u*, past in *a*, past participle in *u*, as *byd, bad, budden; syng, sang, sung; greit, grat, grutten,* to weep; *cum* (anciently *cym*, Mœso-Gothic *qim*), *cam, cum'd,* Mid. Sc. *cumen.*

6. Stems in the diphthong *ey*, past in *ai*, past participle in *y*: *beyde, baid, bydden; reyse, rayse, rysen; scheyne, schain,* past participle obsolete.

Several verbs take parts from two different classes, or have forms according to both. Others have in the tear and wear of time so changed their stem, or its inflections, as to appear quite anomalous.

Many are inflected both as Strong and Weak verbs; in such cases the Weak inflections are generally the newer; instances of Verbs, originally weak, developing a new strong form are rare,

and generally based on a false analogy. Such is *bryng*, which has not only the original *brocht*, but also a strong inflection *bràng, brung*, after the analogy of *syng, dyng*, etc.

Several Verbs, which in the literary English have a new weak form, retain in Scotch the strong forms of the Anglo-saxon and Old English; and conversely, a few verbs which retain in English the old strong forms, have in Scotch adopted a weak one. But many weak verbs, which are in English contracted or otherwise divergent, are in Scotch full and regular.

The following Table of Verbs contains (1) all the strong stems in the language; (2) all the weak stems whose inflections vary from the three general rules for *-it, -t, -d*; (3) all verbs which have a double form or partly follow two forms; and for comparison with the English; (4) all verbs irregular or deviating in English, which in the Scottish dialects are full or regular, and (5) all strong or deviating stems retained in English, but which the Scotch has lost.

Verbs or parts of verbs which have only the regular weak inflection are indicated by *italics*; forms which are *antiquated* or nearly obsolete in the spoken dialect are marked *ant.*; those believed to be quite lost are denoted by *obs.* = obsolete:—

Beake	buik *ant., beakit*	beaken, *beakit*	*to bake*
Beate	bæt	beaten	*beat, overcome*
Begyn	began, begood, beguid	begun	*begin*
Beir	buir,	buorne	*bear*
Bænd R.	*bændit*	*bændit*	*bend*
Bereive R.	*bereiv't*	*bereiv't*	*bereave*
Beseitch (beseik *ant.*)	besoweht, *beseitcht*	besowcht, *beseitcht*	*beseech*
Bey, *pr.* ym	wàs	bein	*be*
Beyde	baid	bydden	*abide, stay*
Beyte	baît	bytten	*bite*
Byd	bàd	budden	*bid, invite*
Bye	bowcht	bowcht	*buy*
Byg	bug, *byggit*	buggen	*build*
Bynd	ban'	bun'	*bind*
Bluid	blæd	blæd	*bleed*
Blaa	bleuw	blaa'n, bleuwn	*blow*
Blyn, *ant.*	blàn	blun	*cease*
Blyss	*blyss't*	*blyss't*	*bless*
Breid	bræd	bræd	*breed*
Bryk	bràk	bròken	*break*
Bryng	browcht, brang	browcht, brung	*bring*
Build	built, *buildit*	built	*build*
Burn	brunt	brunt	*burn*
Burst	(brast *obs.*) *burstit*	bursen	*burst*

Càn	cuid, cood	cuid, cood	*can*
Càst	cuist	cuis'n	*cast*
Càtch	*càtcht* caucht	*catcht*, caucht	*catch*
Cheyde	chaid	chydden	*chide*
Choise (Fr. choisir)[1]	*chois't*	*chois't*	*choose*
Cleid	clæd	clæd	*clothe*
Cleik or clutch	claucht, *cleikit*	claucht, *cleikit*	*clutch*
Cleive	*cleiv't*, clæft	cloven, clæft	*cleave, split*
Clym	clàm	clum	*climb*
Craa	creuw	craa'n, creuwn	*crow*
Creep	cràp, *creepit*	cruppen, *creepit*	*creep*
Cum	cam	(cumen, *obs.*), *cum'd*	*come*
Cuost	cuost, *cuostit*	cuost	*cost*
Cut	*cuttit*	*cuttit*	*cut*
Daar	durst	durst	*dare, venture*
Daar	*daar'd*	*daar'd*	*dare, challenge*
Deal	*deal'd*, dealt	*deal'd*, dealt	*deal*
Dig wanting, supplied by *howk, delve*			
Draa	dreuw	draa'n, dreuwn	*draw*
Dreid	dræd	dræd	*dread*
Dreyve	drayve	dryvven, dri'en (= dreen)	*drive*
Drynk	dràNk	drunk, drukken	*drink*
Dui	dyd	duin	*do*
Dyng	dàng	dung	*push, knock down*
Eit	(æt, ait,) *eitit*[2]	eiten	*eat*
Faa	fæll	faa'n	*fall*
Fæycht	feuwcht	feuwchen, fowchen	*fight*
Feel wanting, supplied by *fynd*.			
Feid	fæd	fæd	*feed*
Fley	fleuw	fleuwn, flowen	*fly*
Fleyte	flait	flytten	*scold*
Flyng	flàng	flung	*fling, throw*
Flytt	*flyttit*	*flyttit*	*flit, change houses*
For-beir	for-buir	for-buorne	*forbear*
For-gæt	forgàt	for-gætten	*forget*
For-seake	forsuik	for-seaken	*forsake*

[1] In more Northern dialects *chuise, chaise, chuis't*.

[2] In the 16th century *eit*—

> Scho *eit* of it to that intent,
> And patt her Husband in beleue
> That he suld be als sapient
> As the grete God omnipotent;
> He *eit* on that condition.—Lyndesay—*Monarchie*, 928.

Freize	fruize	fruozen	*freeze*
Fynd	fànd	fund	*find*
Gàng or geae	geade	geane	*go*
Geate or gytt	gàt	geatten, gotten	*got*
Gie (=gee)[1]	gæ	gi'en (= gĕin)	*give*
Greave	gruive, *greav't*	greaven	*grave*
Greit	gràt	grutten	*cry, weep* (Itl. *gridare*).
Growe	greuw	growen	*grow*
Grynd	gràn'	grun'	*grind*
Gryp	gràp	gruppen	*grip, seize*
Gylt	*gyltit*	*gyltit*	*gild*
(Hald *ant.*), hàd	hæld	(halden, *ant.*), hàdden	*hold*
Hæv, hæ	hæd	hæd	*have*
Hang	*hàng'd*	*hàng'd*	*execute by hanging*
Heuw	*heuw'd*	heuwn	*hew*
Heir	hàrd, hærd	hàrd, hærd	*hear*
Heive	huive *ant.*, *heiv't*	huoven, heiv'd	*heave*
Hælp	*hælpit*	*hælpit*	*help*
Heyde	haid	hydden	*hide*
Hyng[2]	hàng	hung	*hang*, neut. and act.
Hyt	hàt	hutten	*hit*
Hurt	hurt, *hurtit*	hurt, *hurtit*	*hurt*
Keip	*keipit*	*keipit*	*keep*
Kneil	*kneil'd*	*kneil'd*	*kneel*
Knytt	*knyttit*	*knyttit*	*knit*
Knaw, *obs.*	kneuw	knawen	*know*
Lay	laid	laid	*lay*
Lauwch	leuwch	leuwchen	*laugh*
Læn[3]	*læn'd*	*læn'd*	*lend*
Leade	*leadit*	leaden	*load*
Learn	*learn't*	*learn't*	*learn, teach*
Læt	luit	luitten	*let*
Leid	læd	læd	*lead*
Leive	læft	læft	*leave*
Leycht	*leychtit*	*leychtit*	*light*

[1] This contraction of *give* is as old as the 13th century.—

Þat *gie* of sothfastnes the sight.—*Cursor Mundi.*

[2] Pas on, and of treis thou mak ane *bing*
To be ane fyre, and thayr apoun thou *hing*
Ȝone mannis swerd.—Douglas—*Eneid.*

[3] I wat thy Grace wyll nocht misken me
Bot thow wyll ather geue or *len* me.

Wald thy Grace *len* me to ane day
Off gold ane thousand pound or tway,—

Lyndesay—*Complaynt*, 459.

Lowp[1]	lap, *lowpit*	luppen	*leap*
Lowse	*lows't*	*lows't*	*loose*
Luoss	*luost*	*luost*	*lose*
Lyft	*lyftit*	*lyftit*	*lift*
Lye (*lig obs.*)	lay	leyne,[2] layen	*lie, jacere*
Maa	meuw, *maa'd*	maa'n	*mow*
Mæ	meycht	meycht	*may*
Mæn, maan	(mud)		*must*
Mælt	*mæltit*	*mæltit*	*melt*
Meake	meade[3]	meade	*make*
Mein	*mein'd*, meint	*mein'd*, meint	*mean*
Meit	mæt	mæt	*meet*
Peae	*peaed*	*peaed*	*pay*
Pænn	*pænn'd*	*pænn'd*	*penn*
Pleid	plæd	plæd	*plead*
Pruive	pruived	pruived, proven	*prove*
Pytt	pàt	putten	*put*
Quyt	quàt	quutten	*quit, let go*
Quheyte	quhait	quhytten	*whittle, cut away*
Ræd	ræd, *ræddit*	ræd	*arrange, disentangle*
Ràp	*rappit*	*rappit*	*rap*

Rend wanting, supplied by *reyve, teir.*

Reid	ræd	ræd	*read*
Reyde	raid	rydden	*ride*
Reyse	rayse	rysen	*rise*
Reyve	rayve	ryvven	*rive, rend*
Rynn	ràn	run	*run*
Ryng	ràng	rung	*ring, reign*
Rot	*rottit*	*rottit*, rotten	*rot*
Saa	seuw	saa'n, seuwn	*sow*
Saa	*saa'd*, seuw	*saa'd*, saa'n	*saw*
Say	said	said	*say*
Sall	suid, sood	suid, sood	*shall, ought*
Sæll	sauld *ant.*, *sæll'd*	sauld *ant.*, *sæll'd*	*sell*

[1] In the 16th century—

Thare wald nocht be sic brawlyng at the bar,
Nor men of law *loup* to sic royall rent.—
Lyndesay—*Monarchie*, 600.

Out ouer the wall scho *lâp* and brak her banys—
Douglas—*Eneid*, Book 4, Prologue.

[2] "Quhilk in a wait hes *lyne* for us sa lang."—Dunbar—*Of the Resurrection of Christ.* "*Ligging* tharon, as semely for to see."—*Douglas.* *Lig* appears to be obsolete in Scotland, though still used in the North of England.

[3] Ags. *macod*, but the contracted forms *ma*, *mas*, or *mase*, *mad* or *made*, are as old at least as the 13th century in the Northern dialect, and continued to be used by the Sc. writers of the Middle Period:

Than *ma-ys* clerkis question.—Barbour.

But *ma*, *mais*, *mase*, are now obsolete.

Sænd	sænt	sænt	*send*
Sæt	suit	suitten	*set, place*
Schæd	schæd	schæd	*shed, divide*
Schaw, *ant.*	scheuw	schawen	*show*
Scheake	schuik	scheaken	*shake*
Scheape	schuip, *scheapit*	scheapen	*shape*
Scheave	schuive, *ant.*[1] *scheav't*	scheaven	*shave*
Scheuw	*scheuw'd*	*scheuw'd*	*sew*
Scheir	schuir	schuorn	*shear*
Scheyne	schain	*scheyn'd*[2]	*shine*
Scheyte	schait	schytten	*cacare*
Schreyve	schrayve	schryven	*shrive*
Schrynk / Scrynk	schrànk	schrunk / *scrynkit*	*shrink*
Schui	schòd, *schuï'd*	schodden	*shoe*
Schuit	schòt	schòtten = pushed; schòt = shot	*push*; *shoot*
Seik	sowcht	sowcht	*seek*
Seethe	(sàd) *seeth't*	sodden	*seethe*
Sey	saa	sein	*see*
Slay, *ant.*	sleuw	slain	*slay*
Sleip	*sleipit*	*sleipit*	*sleep*
Sleyde	slaid	slydden	*slide*
Sleyte	slait	slytten	*unsew, slit*
Slyng	slàng	slung	*sling*
Slynk	slank	slunk	*slink*
Smæll	*smæll'd*	*smæll'd*	*smell*
Smytt	smait, *smyttit*	smytten	*infect*
Snaa	sneuw *obs.*, snaa'd	sneuw'n *obs.*, snaa'd	*snow*
Snæd	snæd, *snæddit*	*snæddit*	*trim* (trees) *schneiden*
Sneyte, *ant.*	snait	snytten	*snuff, blow the nose, mungere*
Speik	spàk	spòken	*speak*
Speid	spæd	spæd	*speed*
Spæll	*spæll'd*	*spæll'd*	*spell*
Spænd	spænt, *spændit*	spænt, *spændit*	*spend*
Spleit	splæt	splæt, splytten	*split*
Spyll	spylt	spylt	*spill* (fluid)
Spyn	spàn	spun	*spin*
Spytt	spàt	sputten	*spit*
Spreid	spræd	spræd	*spread*
Spryng	spràng	sprung	*spring*
Staand	stuid	stuiden	*stand*

[1] Quhen that thay maid thair beards and *schuve* thair crown.

[2] Ags. past participle *scinen*, which ought to have given *schyn* in the modern tongue; but according to Dr. R. Morris, this was already wanting in the 13th century.—*Introduction to Hampole.*

Stàng	*stàng'd*	*stàng'd*, stung	*sting*
Steave	*steav't*	*steav't*	*stave, walk heedlessly*
Steill	stale, stail, staw *ant., steill'd*	stown	*steal*
Straa	streuw, *straa'd*	straa'n	*strew*
Streyde	straid	strydden	*stride*
Streyke	stràk	strukken	*strike*
Streyve	strayve	stryvven	*strive*
Stryng	stràng	strung	*string*
Styck	stàk	stukken, *stykkit*[1]	*stick, adhere, thrust, stab*
Stynk	stànk	stunk	*stink*
Soom[2]	swàm, *soom'd*	*soom'd*, swum	*swim*
Soop	*soopit*	*soopit*	*sweep*
Swàll	*swàll'd*	*swàll'd*, swàllen	*swell*
Sweir	swuir	swuorn, swurn	*swear*
Sweit	swàt, swæt	swutten, swæt	*sweat*
Swyng	swàng	swung	*swing*
Syng	sàng	sung	*sing*
Synk	sànk	sunk	*sink*
Sytt	sàt	sutten	*sit*
Teake	tuik	teane	*take*
Teir	tuir, tuore	tuorn	*tear*
Teitch	*teitch't*, taucht	*teitch't*, taucht	*teach*
Tæll	*tæll'd*, tauld *ant.*	*tæll'd*, tauld	*tell*
Teyne	tynt	tynt	*disappear, lose*
Thaa	theuw	thaa'n, *thaa'd*	*thaw*
Thynk	thowcht	thowcht	*think*
Thraa	threuw	thraa'n, threuwn	*throw*
Thræsch	thruisch	thruischen	*thrash*
Threid	thræd	thræd	*thread*
Threyve	thrayve	thryvven, threin	*thrive*
Toss	*toss't*	*toss't*	*toss*
Træd	træd, *trædditt*	trædden	*tread, trample*
Treit	træt, *treitit*	træt	*treat*
Tweyne	*tweyned*	twun, *tweyned*	*twine*
Understaand	understuid	understuiden, -stànden	*understand*
Waax	*waax't* (wox *obs.*)	*waax't*, waxen	*wax*
Wæsch	wuisch[3]	wuischen	*wash*

[1] *Stykkit* is used in a neuter sense for *one who has stuck or failed*, as a "stickit minister," like Dominie Sampson.

[2] *Soom* and *soop* from the original *swim* and *swip*, changed by the action of the *w* on the vowel into *swum*, *swup*, then *suom*, *suop*, *soom*, *soop*. The development is as old as 1500, Gawain Douglas giving us *sowme*, *sowp* = *soom*, *soop*.

[3] In the 15th century *wosche*, *wusche*—

He *wosche* away all with the salt watir.—Douglas.

Wàt, wait	wust	wust	*wot, know*
Weid	wæd, *weedit*	wæd	*weed*
Weir	wuir	wuorn, wurn	*wear*
Weit	wàt, *weitit*	wàt, wutten, *weitit*	*wet*
Weep wanting, supplied by *greit.*			
Weive	wuive, wuove	wuv'n, *weiv't*	*weave*
W'reyt-e	w'rait	w'rytten	*write*
W'reythe	w'raythe	w'ryth'n	*writhe*
Wryng	w'ràng	w'rung	*wring*
Wun*for* wyn	wàn	wun	*win, gain, get at*
Wun'	wàn', wun'	wun'	*dry in the wind*
Wund	*wundit*, wàn'	*wundit*, wun'	*wind*
Wurk	w'rowcht, *wurkit*	w'rowcht	*work*
Wuss,	*wuss't*	*wuss't*	*wish*

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

The parts of the Verb formed by inflection, without the aid of auxiliaries, are the Present and Past Tenses of the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods, the Imperative, Infinitive, Present and Past Participle, and Gerund or Verbal Noun, which in this dialect, as in that of Northumberland, is distinct from the Participle or Verbal Adjective. The distinct inflectional forms are in the Weak Verb *five*, in the Strong Verb *six*, e.g. *sleip, sleips, sleipand, sleiping, sleipit; reyde, reydes, reydand, reyding, raid, rydden.* The literary English has in *sleepest, sleptest, two* forms, or if we reckon *sleepeth, three* forms additional, but has lost the distinct form for the participle, confounding it with the gerund *sleeping.*

The following is the conjugation of the Simple Tenses:—

I. The Weak Class.

Indicative.

Present. Aa leyke (thuw leykes), hey leykes, wey leyke, yee leyke, thay leyke. With any other nominative *leykes* in all the persons.

Past. Aa leykit (thuw leykit), etc.

Subjunctive.

Present. Yf aa leyke (thuw leyke), hey leyke, etc.

Past. Yf aa leykit, etc.

Imperative. Leyke! *Infinitive.* tui leyke.
Participle Present. leykand, leykan'. *Past.* leykit.
Gerund. leyking, leykein.

II. The Strong Class.

Indicative.

Present. Aa w'reyte (thuw w'reytes), hey w'reytes, wey, yee thay w'reyte. With any other nominative *w'reytes* in all the persons.
Past. Aa w'rait (thuw w'rait), etc.

Subjunctive.

Present. Yf aa w'reyte (thuw w'reyte), etc.
Past. Yf aa w'rait, etc.

Imperative. w'reyte! *Infinitive.* tui w'reyte.
Participle Present. w'reytand, w'reytan'. *Past.* w'rytten.
Gerund. w'reyting, w'reytein.

The verb go has in the present tense a double form. *Indic. Pres.* Aa gàng *or* geae, hey gàngs *or* geaes. *Past.* Geade (*Old Sc.* ȝede, *Old Eng.* yhede, yhode, Ags. eóde). *Imper.* Gàng or geae. *Infin.* tui gàng or geae. *Partic. pres.* gaand, gaan'. *Gerund* gànging, gangein. *Past Part.* geane. Imperative followed by *away*, gàng away, geae 'way *or* g'way! so with *cum*, cum away, cu 'way *or* c'way!

The double forms in *go* are as old as the Sanscrit, where both stems *ga* and *gaṅ* are used. In the Lindisfarne Gospels both forms are regularly given by the glossist, thus Matt. viii. 9. ic cueƀo ƀissum *or* ƀæm, gaæ, and (he) gaes *or* geongas, I say to this or to that one, gae, and he *gaes* or *gangs*. viii. 28. nænig monn mæhte gae *or* geonge ƀerh þa ilco woeg, *neae man meycht geae* or *gàng thruw that ylk way*. ix. 5. aris and geong *or* gaa, etc.

Gerund.—The distinction between the Participle or Verbal Adjective, and Gerund or Verbal Noun, survives in this dialect, and that of the adjacent county of Northumberland. In the Southern English, the two inflections were confounded before 1300, but in the northern tongue they are quite distinct from the earliest period to the 16th century, the participle being in *-and, -ant*, the gerund in *-yng, yne, ene, een.*

> The *movand* world withouten doute
> Sal than ceese o *turnyng* aboute.—*Hampole.*

It aperit be *presumyng* and *presuposing*, that *blaberand* eccho had beene hid in ane hou hole, *cryand* her half ansueir.

The *wirkyng* of the *suelland* wallis of the brym seye, undir ane *hingand* heuch.

The *garruling* of the stirlene gart the sparrou cheip—the *jargolyne* of the suallou gart the jay jangil, the *ropeen* of the rauynis gart the crans crope.

Thai war of diuerse sectis *haldant* straynge opinions contrar the scriptour.

Complaynt of Scotlamd.

But in the 16th c., the dialect of central Scotland, and the literary Middle Scotch founded upon it, lost the distinction between the participle and gerund, apparently on account of the final consonants becoming mute, and the vowels being then confounded, so that both forms were written *-ing*, *-in'*, in Lothian now pronounced (-en). In the Southern Counties, also, the final consonant is now mute, except in a few words (see under D and NG, pages 121, 124), but the terminations are quite distinct, as in the words pæan, crinol*ine*.[1] The two forms may be exemplified thus:—"Thay war *dansand* aa thruw uther (*durch einander*) an' syc dansin' aa never saa afuore; hey beguid a-*greitin*, but feint o' eane kænnd quhat hey was *greitand* fòr; syc on-*gàngin's* as yr *gaan'* on yonder!"

When the past participle has the same vowel as the stem, as in *leaden*, *hadden*, *beaken*, *eiten*, *rotten*, we have three forms closely alike, but nicely distinguished by the vowel or no vowel before the -n, as *haddan' haddin' hadden* (hadɐn, hadin, had·n; itɐn, itin, it·n; rotɐn, rotin, rȯt·n). "Quhat keynd o' eitin' dui-ye fynd them? Wey hæna eiten onie o' them yet. Yr n' ye eitand them een-nuw? The heäle beakin' o' neuw beak'n breid, 'at schui was thràng beakand yestreen."

It is desirable to write the *d* in the participle, and perhaps also the *g* in the gerund, when the orthography is not strictly phonetic, when both may be supplied by the apostrophe. In the dialect of the county of Northumberland, according to Mr. Carr of Hedgeley,[2] the gerund ends in *-yng*, "with an obscure sound nearer to that of short *u* than short *i*." In the other Scottish dialects, both forms are now confused in *-en*, apparently that of the participle, as in the literary English both are confounded in *-ing* of the verbal noun. Thus in Lothian they would say, "He begood a-greit'n, but quha kènt, quhat he wus greit'n fur? D'ye heir 'ym reid'n? The reid'n o' the wull."

In the PRESENT TENSE, aa *leyke*, wey *leyke*, yee *leyke*, thay *leyke*, are used only when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or

[1] It is as absurd to a Southern Scot to hear *eating* used for both his *eiting* and *eitand*, as it is to an Englishman to hear *will* used for both his *will* and *shall*. When he is told that "John was *eating*," he is strongly tempted to ask what kind of *eating* he proved to be?

[2] "On the Present Participle in the Northumbrian Dialect, and on the Verbal Noun or Noun of Action terminating in -ing." Pro. of Berwickshire Nat. Club, 1863, p. 356.

relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination *-s* in all persons. Thus "aa *cum* fyrst; yt's mey ăt *cums* fyrst; wey *gàng* theare; huz tweae quheyles *gàngs* theare; yt's huz ăt *says* seae; ye *sey* quhat thay *mein;* yuw eanes *seys* quhat thir *meins;* yuw ăt *thynks* ye can dui aa-thyng; thay *cum* an' *teake* them; the burds *cums* an' *pæcks* them; sum *thynks* hey was reycht, but uthers *menteins* the contrar; fuok ăt *cums* unbudden, *syts* unsær'd."

Such expressions as "the men *syts*" are not vulgar corruptions, but strictly grammatical in the Northern dialect. The *-s* is a true plural inflection, as witnessed by the 13th c. *sittes*, the old North-umbrian *sittes* or *sittas*, answering to the Old South. Eng. *sitteth*, Ags. *sitta*ð.[1]

The modern Scotch usage, *thay cum, the men cums*, is identical with that of the Northern Dialect from the 13th century, which is incorrectly said by many English scholars (Mr. Guest, I think, is the father of the mistake), to have made all the persons of the present tense in *-s*. But this was only when the pronoun subject was absent; when accompanied by the pronoun, this tense was inflected (with exception of 2nd pers. sing. in *-es, thow loves*), as in modern literary English. In the Old North-Anglian indeed, the conjugation was :—

Ih cyme	we cym-es	} or cyme we, ȝee, þa.[2]
ðu cym-es	ȝee cym-es	
he cym-es	hea *or* þa cym-es	

But before the date of the earliest Northern writings of the 13th century, the form without the *-s* had been extended to all cases in which the verb was accompanied by its proper pronoun, whether before or after it, leaving the full form in *-s* to be used with other nominatives only.

Hampole :— Now *haf we* rest, and now travail,
Now we *fande* our force, now we *fail;*
Now *love* we, now *hate*, now saghtel, now strife.

Wharfor *we* suld þink þat *lyves* here.

[1] In the Ags. an *n* is dropped before the final ð or *d*, the Mœso-Gothic being *sit-and*, Latin *sed-unt*, Sansc. *sad-anti*. The Slavonic tongues agree with the *Ags.* in expelling the *n* before the final dental, Russian *siad-ūt'* for *siad-unt*. The modern Dutch and German, like the old Midland English, retain the *n* and drop the *t* or *d*, *sitt-en, sess-en*. The Greek not only expels the *n*, but, like the Northern English and Scotch, changes the dental into *s*, *φέρ-ουσι*, for *φέρ-ουντι*, Latin *fer-unt*, Sanscrit *bhar-anti*, M. Goth. *bair-and*, Ags. *ber-a*ð, Old Midl. Eng. *ber-en*, Old Southern *ber-eth*, Old Northern *ber-es*.

[2] Compare the classical West Saxon *we cuma*ð, *cumeth*, but *cume we*, the use of *-s* for *-th* being Northern. Light has been thrown upon the origin of these syncopated forms by the researches of Mr. Henry Sweet (Preface to Anglo-Saxon Text of *Gregory's Pastoral Care*), who has shown that the forms in *-e* were preceded by older ones in *-en*, originally subjunctive, from which mood and the imperative, their use passed into the indicative, whence they have finally expelled the original indicative terminations *-a*ð, *-eth*, North Anglian *-es*.

Yhe þat *folowes* me here.

Sen the creatures þat skill *has* nane,
Hym *loves* in the kynde þat *þai have* tane.

But þai *folow* ay þair awen wille,
And of noght elles *þynkes* ne *tas* hede
What wonder es yf *þai haf* na drede?

Many *spekes*, and in buke *redes*,
Of purgatory, but fon (*few*) it *dredes*;
For many wate noght what it es,
Þarfor *þai drede* it wel þe les.

Gawain Douglas:— Reuthfull Eneas am I
That Troiane goddis *caryis* in my navy.

Baith here and thare *standis* large craggis and braís

How wourschipfull eik war thy parentis of micht
Quhilkis the engenerit *has*, sa worthy ane wicht!

The quhile oure sey that *salis* the Troianis, etc., etc.

Ettrick Shepherd:— Now quha are ye, ye sillie auld man,
That *sleipis* se sound and se weil?
Or how gat ye into the bishopis vault
Through lokkis and barris of steel?

When the kye *comes* hame.

In the verb BE where the plural (*aron, aren, are, ar, er, yr*) did not end in -es, the presence or absence of the pronoun subject did not affect the form of the verb originally; but at a later date, the analogy of the other verbs, in which a form identical with the 3rd pers. sing. was used in the plural in the absence of the pronoun, led to the use of *es, is*, in like cases for *ar, er*, though only as an alternative form. In the same way *was, wes*, intruded upon *wer, war*, in the past tense.

Cursor Mundi:— The childer þat *es* abortives,
Þaa that *er* born o-lives.

Hampole:— Many thinges to knaw and se,
Þat has bene, and *es*, and yhit sal be.

And swilk *er* þas þat here *er* fre,
Of dedly syns and *er* in charite.

I am a commelyng toward þe,
And pilgrym as alle my faders *was*.

Men ete and drank þan and *war* glade,
And wedded wyfes and bridalles made.

In the modern dialect also the usage is various, though *is* and *was* are more common than *are* and *were*, when the pronoun is absent.

"Rainbowe, rainbowe, ryn awa' heame!
Aa yer bairns *is* deid but eane."

Yuw at *'s* seae kein o' fyschin'. The treys *was* aa cuttit doon. Thaim at was (*or* war) heir. Yuw an' mey *was* beath theare.

The *-s* of the first person singular, as in the quotation from Gawain Douglas, "Reuthfull Eneas am I, that Troiane goddis *caryis* in my navy," or the modern "Wad ye beheave that way tui mey ăt *hæs* træt ye seae weill?" is not in the same position as the *-s* in the plural, where it was an original characteristic of the North-Anglian (ih *cyme*, we *cymes*), and is due either to a false analogy, or to contact with the Scandinavian languages, in which the first person, as well as the second and third, ends in *-r*= English *-s*: *jeg haver, du haver, hœn haver*. I find a trace of it as early as the 10th century in a double gloss to Matthew viii. 9, Lindisfarne Gospels, "ec ic monn am under mæht, hæfis *or* hæfo under mec ðeiȝnas," "I am eke a man under might (that), *has* or *have* under me thaynes." Those modern dialects of the North of England which shew the Norse influence have *-s* in the first person singular, even when *I* is present, in which they differ essentially alike from the 14th century northern dialect, and the modern Scotch. Thus we find in the "Cleveland Glossary," Ah'*s* about hungered to deid. *Sc.* Aa'*m* aboot hunger't tui deid. *Cl.* Ah'*s* gannan tiv Hull t'moorn. Ah'*s* getten a sair deeas'ment. *Sc.* Aa'*m* gaan, Aa'*ve* geatten, etc. *Cl.* Ah *doots* it's gannand to be a sair back-kest tiv 'im. *Sc.* Aa *doot* yt's gaan' a-bey a sair bak-set tyl 'ym.[1]

But this form is colloquially used in Scotch when the present is used as a dramatic past; thus, "Aa *heirs* a reis'le at the doar, an' *thynks* aa, quhat can that bey, an' aa *reyses* an' *gangs* tui the wunda, an' theare aa *seys* hym stan'an', etc." In the verb *say* the same usage is extended to all the persons, Aa *says* or *says* aa=I said, *says* we=said we, ye *says*, *says* thay=you said, said they, just as in colloquial English. The *s* here distinctly indicates that the action is *not* present, but a re*presen*tation of the past, or even of the future, as, "The neist teyme ye meit hym, *says* ye, quhair hæ ye bein seae lang."

The solitary point in which the inflection of the verb in modern Scottish differs from the older forms of the Northern dialect is in the plural of the Imperative, which retained the *-s* ending of the Old North-Anglian when the pronoun was omitted, *Cymes!* or *Cyme ye!* (West Saxon *Cumaþ!* or *Cume ȝe!*")

> He sal than say, "*Commes* now til me,
> My fader blissed childer fre,
> And *weldes* þe kyngdom þat til yhow es dight."
>
> "*Lufes* noght þe world here," says he,
> Ne þat, þat yhe in world may se.—*Hampole.*

When Gawain Douglas wrote, two centuries later, the *-s* form

[1] In the Introduction to his "Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect," Mr. Atkinson thus gives the present tense of the verb, "Ah gans, thou gans, he gans, we gans, you gans, they gans; Ah is, thou is, he is, we is, you are, they is," which may be contrasted with the Scotch inflection. In the examples of the dialect scattered through the volume, however, the *s* in the first person singular and in the plural is often absent.

was still in use (and not even confined to the plural number), but generally only for the first imperative in the sentence:

Now *hark* ȝe, schirris! thare is na mare ado;
Quha list attend, *gyffis* audience and *draw* nere.

Maistres of woddis, *beis* to us happy and kynd
Releif our lang travell, quhat ever thow be.

Ye writaris al, and gentil redaris eik,
Offendis not my volume I beseik
Bot *rede* lele, and *tak* gude tent in tyme, etc.

But the modern dialects have altogether rejected the *s*, using the simple form, whether with or without the pronoun, exactly as in English, as "Look!" or "Look-ye!" "Syt doon an' teake a beyte wui's." "Syt ye doon aseyde 'ym." In some verbs a first person plural is in use, as *thynk-wey*, let us think.

Auxiliary Verbs.

The parts of the Verb formed by inflection being so few, most of the modifications of verbal action are expressed by the aid of auxiliaries. The auxiliary verbs used in Scotch are *Hae, Bey, Dui, Wull, Sall, Mæ*, to which may be added *Uise*, and *Gang*, and the so-called Potential auxiliaries *Can, Mæn.*

A very interesting group of Verbs is found with little variation in all the Teutonic languages, ancient and modern, distinguished by the peculiarity that their original Present Tense has long been obsolete, and is supplied by the original strong Past, from which a new Past has been developed with various irregularities. These verbs are more numerous, and exist in greater completeness in the ancient Teutonic languages; in all the modern dialects some of them are obsolete, and of others the merest fragments remain. From the occurrence in Greek of οἶδα εἰδέναι, Mœso-Gothic WITA, WITAN, Anglo-Saxon WITE, WITAN, English WIT, a preterite with a present signification, we learn that this class of verbs extends beyond the Teutonic languages; and a similar tendency is observable in the Latin NOVI, anciently GNOVI, for the obsolete GNOO (KNOW).

The verbs of this group which remain in Scotch in whole or part are WYLL, WULL will, SALL shall, MÆ may, CAN can, MAAN or MÆN (often written *maun, mon*, Norse *mån*, Sw. *mun*) must, DOW (A.S. duȝan, whence *dought*, valour, *doughty* valiant, and German *taugen, tugend, tüchtig*) to avail, *valere*, DAAR, dare, WUT, WAT, wit, AUGHT or OWCHT (Eng. *ought*, A.S. aȝan, ahan to possess, own), to which we may add BYD must, a word of more recent origin.

Forms of the Verb.—Each tense of the Verb, independently of its limitation to time, is susceptible of assuming various *forms*, according as it is used to express affirmation, interrogation, negation, emphasis or any combination of these; such forms being indicated by changing the position of the words, by the presence or absence of certain auxiliaries, the contraction or emphasising of elements, etc. In this dialect these changes of form are important.

1. The *Affirmative* or simple statement, expressed in the independent verb by the simple form, but in the auxiliaries by a contracted form, as *hey gangs, hey'll, hey's.*

2. The *Emphatic* form, used in asserting strongly, or repeating an assertion which has been questioned. Expressed in auxiliary verbs by the full form as *hey wull, hey ys;* in the principal verb by help of an auxiliary as *he dyz gang, hey dyd gang.*

3. The *Negative* form, a simple Negation, usually formed in auxiliaries by adding *-na*, as *hæna*, *wasna*, *canna*, *wunna;* in independent verbs by a negative form of the auxiliary as *ye dynna cum*, *wey dydna ken.* But in some verbs the custom is retained of adding *-na* as in auxiliaries as *aa cayr-na*, *hey geade-na.*

4. The *Negative Emphatic*, a strong negation, or re-denial of a statement asserted, formed in auxiliaries by the full form with the adverb *nô* or *not* (anciently *nocht*); in principal verbs by the negative emphatic form of the auxiliary, or by the adverb *neane* as *hey ys not*, *wey dyd not* or *hey nô ys*, *wey nô dyd; hey dyz not gang*, *hey wull not gang*, or *hey neane gangs*, *hey'll neane gang.*

5. The *Interrogative* form, formed in auxiliaries by placing the verb before the subject as *wad ye? can thay?* in principal verbs, with the interrogative form of the auxiliary, as *dyd hey cum? wad ye dui'd?*; but in some short words by simple inversion without an auxiliary as *cam ye? quhat thynk ye?*

6. The *Negative Interrogative*, a negative question; as *Is he not?* formed by adding *nô* or *not* (anciently *nocht*) after the subject; as, *dyd thay nô? dyd schui nô cum? dui ye nô thynk?* The more northern dialects use *nae* instead of *nô* or *noa.*

7. The *Suasive* form, as *wad-n 'ye leyke*, equal to the English "*You would like, would you not?*" the German *Sie würden lieben, nicht wahr?* the French *Vous aimeriez, n'est ce pas?* formed from the Interrogative by inserting *-n'* between the verb and subject, "Dyd-n' ye gang?" *You went surely?* or *you went, did you not?* "Hæv-n' thay a neyce gairdin'?" *They have a fine garden, have they not?* This was no doubt originally the Negative Interrogative form, but it now does more than ask a simple question; it also insinuates an expectation of what the answer should be.

8. The *Dissuasive* form as *wad-n 'ye nô gang?* you would not go, would you now? formed by adding *nô* after the subject of the Suasive form.

With reference to the last three forms, *dyd ye nô heir'd?* expresses no expectation as to the answer; *dyd-n 'ye heir'd*, expresses an expectation of an *affirmative* answer; *dyd-n 'ye nô heir 'd*, expresses an expectation or fore-knowledge of a reply in the negative.

WYLL usually WULL (see page 108, so pronounced in 16th cent.) PRES. aa wull, hey wull, yee wull, etc. *Contracted* unemphatic form, aa'll, hey'll, yee'll, etc.; *Negative* wunna *for* wyllnocht=*will not. Suasive* wull-n'?

PAST TENSE wàd (older *wald*) contracted aa wăd or aa'd; *Neg.* wàdna; *Suas.* wàd-n'?

PRES. PART. wullant, wullint; *Advb.* wullantlie, *willingly. Gerund*, wullin'. Used also in Compound tenses, as, "hey hæd-na wàd dui'd" he had not been willing to do it "schui hæs-na wàd cum," she has not consented to come.

SALL=shall. PRES. aa sall, thay sall, etc.; *contracted* form, aa s', yee s', thay s'; *Neg.* sànna, schànna=shall not. The Present is almost out of use in this dialect.

PAST. suid, *or* sood (older suld, sould). *Neg.* suidna, soodna.

CAN. PRES. aa càn, hey càn, wey càn, etc.; Unemphatic aa căn, aa c'n; *Neg.* cànna.

PAST. cuid, cood (older *culd, could, couth*); *Neg.* cuidna, coodna.

PART. cannan'. *Ger.* cannin', being able. *Past part.* cuid, cood.

Used in comp. tenses as "thay hæna cuid geate eane," they have not been able to get one; "If wey hæd cuid cum; ye'll can cum neist weik?" "Wi' hym noa cannin' fynd

them" through his being unable to find them. "He'*ll* no *can* haud doon his head to sneeze, for fear o'seeing his shoon."

Scott, Antiquary, chapter xxvi.

MÆ (more northern dialects MAE)=may. PRES. aa, yee, thay mæ. *Unemphat,* aa-mă.
PAST. meycht. *Negat.* meychtna.

MÆN or MÀN (older *man, maun, mon, mun*)=*must.* PRES. aa, hey, thay mæn. *Unemphat.* aa-mĕn, aa-măn; *Neg.* mænna, often written *maunna.* PAST. aa med, mud (older *met, mot*), almost obsolete, and usually supplied by *bud*=behoved, *hæd-tui, was obleist* or *obleiget-tui,* as "aa mud gang, aa bud gang, aa hæd tui gang, aa was obleist tui gang."

DOW. PRES. aa dòw. *Neg.* downa.
PAST. dowcht. *Neg.* dowchtna.
Nearly obsolete, used in such phrases as "aa downa bey fash't," I cannot bear to be troubled. "Hey dowchtna reyse," he could not exert himself so as to rise.

Thay downa bide the stink o' pouther.—*Burns.*

DAAR (often written *dar, daur*)=*dare.* PRES. daar. *Neg.* daarna.
PAST durst; *Neg.* durstna.
Used also in Comp. tenses "wull-ye daar gàng? thay wàd-na daar cum; yf wey hæd durst beyde onie langer."

WAIT, WAT, WUT=know. PRES. wat, wait; used only in such phrases as *aa wait-na,* I know not, *wàt-ye?* know ye? *weill aa wàt,* full well I know.
PAST. wust. *Neg.* wustna. "Thay war oot o' sycht or ever aa wust," spelled *wyst,* but pronounced *wust* already in 16th cent.

Bot I allace! or ever I wyste,
Was 'trampit doun in to the douste.—
Lyndesay, *Comp.,* 254.

Infin. Teake *wut* o' quhat hàppens; dynna let *wut,* do not let (any one) know.

AA (older *aw, awe*) AUWCHT. The Anglo-Saxon *agan, ahan,* past *ahte* (Mœso-Gothic *aigan, aihan,* Greek $\epsilon\chi$-$\epsilon\iota\nu$), meant 1. *To have, possess, own;* 2. *to make another to possess or own* (Bosworth). Hence, through such phrases as *he áh cuman,* he *has* to come, he *owes* to come, the modern English *owe*= debere, and *ought.* The only parts of this verb retained in Scotch are the Present Participle *aand* (Ags. agend, O.E. awend, awand), owing, by which with the verb to *be,* the English verb *owe* is expressed, thus *aa'm aand hym nowcht,* I owe him nothing; *yee was aand yer rænt,* you owed your rent, *hey's bein lang aand hym,* he has long owed him, he has been long in his debt, etc. The Past Participle apparently occurs in the difficult idiom "Quheae's *auwcht* that?" often

"Quheae's *owcht* that?" contracted "Quheae's *aa* that? Quheae's *o'* that?" whose is that? who owns that? In addition to what has been said with regard to this phrase under *Quheae*, the second meaning given to *agan* by Bosworth would allow us to construe *Quheae's aucht that?* as *Who is made to possess that, i.e.* Who is entitled to that, Who has a right to that, or To whom does that belong? The *'s* is in the South of Scotland construed as *is*, making the past *quheae was auwcht* or *aa*, future *quheae 'll bey auwcht* or *aa*, etc. In the dialect of Buchan, it is stated that the past is *faa aicht* and the future *faa'll aicht*, and it is considered by some that the *'s* in *quheae's* does not represent *is*, and that the modern quheae *was* auwcht, quheae *'ll bey* auwcht, etc., are formed upon a false analysis. This view is supported by the use of *aucht* in the following passages :—

"In the whylke (seuende comandement) es forboden all manere of withdraweynge of oþer men thynges wrang-wysely agaynes þaire wyll *þat aghte* it."—*Hampole's Prose Treatises*, p. 11.

Þis heste ous uorbyet to nimene and of-hyealde oþre manne þing huet þet hit by, be wickede skele, aȝe þe wyl of hym þet hit oȝþ.—*Ayenbite.*

"The ladies and gentilwomen *that aught* the tresses were comynge thiderward on pilgrimage."—*Knight of La Tour Landry.*

"With power to his said nichbour *that aught* the grund whereupon it standis, to cast downe the said dyck, and tak it away.—*Annals of Hawick.* Act of the Bailies 1640.

The modern form occurs in "A Ballat in derision of Wanton Women," by Alex. Scot about 1550.

"And nevir speir *quhais aucht* hir."

BYD=must. Pres. aa byd; *Neg.* byd-na.
Past. bud, bood; *Neg.* budna.
A contraction of *behoved*. So in the Northern and West Midland Dialect of the 14th cent. we have *bus, bos*, for *behoves; bud, byhod* for *behoved:*

Me *bos* telle to that tolk þe tene of my wille.
Yow *byhod* haue with-outen doute.—*West Midl. Allit. Poems.*

Byd implies a logical or natural necessity, as "The man *byd* bey a fuil." He must be a fool. "The trey *bud* faa, quhan the ruits was lows't." The tree of necessity fell when its roots were loosened. "It's a *byd-tui-bey* (or a *byd-bey*)." It is a *must-be*, a necessity from the nature of things. In this respect *byd* differs *from mœn, maun*, which expresses a necessity dependent upon the will of a person; compare "thay *byd* cum thys way" with "thay *mœn* cum this way," the former implying that there is no other way, the latter that they are under personal constraint to take this road.

UISE=use, is used as an auxiliary in the habitual past tense, when the full forms ūīse, *ūīse't* (əəz, əəzt) are shortened into ŭis, ŭist (əs, əst). Wey *uist* tui gang. As an independent verb its conjugation is regular.

DUI=*do*, used as an auxiliary in Pres. and Past Indic., Subj. and Imp.; in Middle Scotch used pleonastically in all tenses.
PRESENT. Aa dui, hey duis, wey, yee, thay dui. *Auxiliary form* aa dui *or* dyv,[1] hey dyz, wey, yee, thay, dui *or* dyv. *Negative* aa dynna, hey dyzna, wey dynna. *Interrog.* Dui-aa or dyv-aa, dyz-hey, dui-wey or dyv-wey, dui-ye (dəi, dei) dyv-ye, dui-thay or dyv-thay.
Suasive dyv-n' aa?
PAST. dyd. *Neg.* dydna. *Suasive* dyd-n'?
Imperative dui! *Neg.* dynna!
Part. Pres. duian'. *Past* duin. *Gerund* dui-ing, dui-ein.
As an independent verb, *dui* has all the compound tenses.

HÆV or HÆ=have. PRES. aa hæ or hæv, hey hæs, wey hæ *or* hæv. *Contracted form* aa've, hey's, wey've. *Neg.* hæna, hæsna. *Interrog.* hæv-aa, hæs-hey, hæ-wey. *Suas.* hæv-n', hæs-n'.
PAST. hæd. *Contract.* aa'd, yee'd, etc. *Neg.* hædna. *Suas.* hæd-n'?
IMPERATIVE hæ *or* hæv! *Neg.* dynna hæ!
PART. PRES. hæan', hævan'. *Past* hæd. *Ger.* hæin', hævin'.
The Imperative with a different pronunciation *heae!* or *hyeh!* (ɦjæ) is used for *Here!* in offering anything (French *tiens!*). "Heae! theare's a peice tui-ye," Here! there is a piece of bread for you. "Hey's neane seae deif, ăt hey cànna heir *Heae!*" He is by no means so deaf, that he cannot hear an offer made to him.
The Compound tenses of *hæv* are formed as in regular verbs.

BEY=be. *Present.* Aa ym, hey ys, wey, yee, thay yr. *Contract.* Aa'm, hey's, wey're, yee're, thay're.[2] *Neg.* Aa'm nô, hey's nô. *Suas.* ym-n' aa, ys-n' hey.
PAST. aa wàs, hey wàs, wey wàs *or* waar, yee wàs *or* waar, thay waar. *Contract.* aa wăs (wəz, wez), hey wăs, wey wăs, yee wăs, thay wăr (wər, wer). *Neg.* was-na. *Suas.* was-n'? war-n'?
SUBJ. PRES. yf aa bey. *Neg.* yf aa bynna (benə). PAST. yf aa waar *or* wàs, yf aa waarna, wàsna.
IMPERATIVE bey. *Neg.* bynna, dynna bey.
PART. PRES. beyand, beyan'. *Past,* bein (bin). *Ger.* beying, beyin' (beiˑin).
Has the compound tenses of the first form.

[1] *Dyv* is a Northumbrian form; *div. tiv, wiv,* are used for *dui, tui, wui* (do, to, with), as far south as Cleveland, and form interesting examples of the passage of *u* into *v* as seen in Modern Greek, etc.

[2] The Rev. W. Gregor (*Dialect of Banffshire,* in Phil. Soc. Trans. 1866, part II.), gives the conjugation of *be* in the North-east of Scotland, thus: "A'm, y're, he's, we're, y're, they're; I wiz, ye wiz, he wiz, we wiz, ye wiz, they war," which closely agrees with the *contracted* form above. See the Cleveland form *antè* p. 214 *note.*

FULL CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

By the aid of the auxiliaries, all the varieties of Verbal Action in Time, Mood, and Form, can be expressed with minuteness.

The following are the Tenses used in the full conjugation of complete Verb, each of them possessing all the modifications of *form*, Affirmative, Negative, Emphatic, etc., already described.

The INDICATIVE Mood makes a statement of what is actually happening, has happened, or will happen.

The *Present Habitual*. The simple present tense of a full verb does not describe an action going on at present, but a *habitual* act or state; thus "hey gangs theare," does not mean "he goes there" at present, but "he is in the habit of going there."

The Emphatic, Negative, and other forms take the auxiliary *dui*.

The *Present Actual* is formed by prefixing the present tense of the verb *be* to the present participle, as "hey's gaan' thruw the wud." But in verbs expressive of sensuous or mental impressions, as *sey*, *heir*, *fynd*, *fancie*, *leyke*, *heate*, also *bey*, *hæ*, there is only one form for these two tenses, as *wey sey* them een-nuw, an' *wey sey* them at aa teymes; with which contrast, *thay're syngan* 't een-nuw, an *thay syng* 'd at aa teymes.

The *Past General*. The simple Past of a Verb in the affirmative form, and with the auxiliary *dyd* in the other forms, is a General Past, both historical and habitual. To express more decidedly

The *Past Habitual*, the auxiliary *Uise* is employed as "hey uist tui gang, dyd hey uis tui gang?"

The *Imperfect* is formed by prefixing the past tense of BE to the present participle, as hey was gaan', was-n' hey gaan'?

The *Perfect Indefinite* prefixes the Present tense of the verb *have* to the past participle, "thay've w'rytten." It describes an action already finished without defining the time of its completion.

The *Perfect Definite* prefixes the perfect of the verb BE to the present participle, "thay've bein w'reytan'." It indicates an action which has continued to the present moment.

The Pluperfect Indefinite prefixes the past tense of the verb HAVE to the past participle, "thay hæd-na sung."

The *Pluperfect Definite* prefixes the pluperfect of BE to the present participle, "thay hæd-na bein syngan'."

The Future is expressed by various periphrases.

The *Simple Future* is formed by the auxiliary *will* as *hey'll gang*, *wull ye bey theare?*

The *Second Future* prefixes the future of BE to the present participle, "*thay'll bey sleipan'*, quhan ye wun theare."

A Future is also formed by the aid of *sal*, but this is all but obsolete in the first person, where *aa'll gang* is used for *aa s' gang*. In the other persons, *sal* implies compulsion, *i.e.* action independent of the will of the subject, "Ye s' get yer fairin'; schui's noa gàng hyr fyt-lenth!" But in the interrogative form *sal* is quite obsolete, and a Scotchman says *wull aa?* where an Englishman says *shall I? will* having almost lost in Scotch its sense of *volition*, and become a mere sign of the future, like θέλω in Modern Greek.[1]

A *Proximate* or *Paullopost Future*, is formed by help of the verb BE and the Future participle, "hey's gaand-a-scheir *or* gaan tui scheir thys on-cumman' hærst," he is going to reap, this approaching harvest.

A *Future of Design* or *Destination* is formed by prefixing the present of the verbs *have* or *be* to the Infinitive, the former when the arrangement is made for the subject, the latter when with his concurrence; "*wey've tui* gang theare everie neycht; *thay're tui syng* us a sang." From the former of these periphrases

[1] In Macri's *Modern Greek Interpreter*, Corfu, 1825, the Future of γράφω is given as θέλω, θέλεις, θέλει, θέλομε, θέλετε, θέλουν γράψαι, I *shall*, thou wilt, he will, or I will, thou *shalt*, he *shall* write.

is formed the future of the Modern Romance tongues, ils parler-ont=ils ont parler. By the latter the Future of the Old Latin and Greek, ama-bit=he beeth to love, ἀιν-έσομεν=we are to praise.

The *Future Perfect* prefixes the auxiliary *will have* to the past participle; "thay wunna hæ fund onie yet."

The SUBJUNCTIVE and POTENTIAL Moods express action that is only supposed or conceived of as happening, the former expressing a hypothesis, or stating a condition, the latter expressing (by the auxiliary *may*, might) the intended or expected result of an action, or (by the auxiliary *would*) the natural result of a hypothesis or condition. The old languages had a distinct inflexional form for these dependent modes of expression, which their modern representatives have more or less lost. In the case of Conditional or Hypothetical expressions, it has not been necessary to provide any substitute, the conditional words *if*, *though*, *unless*, etc., sufficiently showing the nature of the expression; but in the Potential or Dependent mood, an auxiliary was necessary to distinguish them clearly from the Indicative. Hence in modern English the *Subjunctive* is practically identical with the Indicative; the *Potential* has the auxiliaries *may*, *might*, *would*, *should*. The names Subjunctive and Potential are far from satisfactory; *Hypothetical*, and *Dependent* would much more accurately express their functions.

The words *may*, *can*, *must*, *might*, *could*, *would*, *should*, are usually given as auxiliaries of the Potential, but the claims of many of them to such a character will not bear examination. It is evident that we can only apply the name, where the auxiliary and principal verb together have a meaning, different from the sum of the meanings of the separate parts; thus *you may go*, *he can come*, are not Potential, because each word retains its independent force as *you have-permission-to go*, *he is-able-to come*. If we admit such phrases as Potential or Subjunctive, we may as well extend the name to *he dare go*, *he need go*. But in *I give him a horse that he may go*, *may go* is Potential or Dependent, for we cannot render it he-has-permission to go.

The only auxiliaries of the Dependent Mood in Scotch are *mæ*, *mycht*, *wad*, may, might, would. *Can* and *cood* always have the sense of *be able*, and *sood* of *ought* or *duty*. Where *should* is dependent in English, it is replaced in Scotch by *wad*.

The *Present Subjunctive* agrees with the Present Indicative, except that the 3rd person singular does not usually take *-s*; which moreover is never taken in the plural:—*Indic.* the burds *syngs*, *Subj.* yf the burds *syng*.

The *Past Subjunctive* is regularly the same as the Past Indicative; "yf ye said seae; yf thay dydna cum," less usually "yf thay nô cam."

The *Present Potential* has the auxiliary *mæ* with the infinitive.

The *Past* has *meycht* to express an expected result; wâd to express the consequence of a condition; "hey hæld it heych, ät aa meycht sey'd; yf ye ran, thay wad suin follo'."

The *Perfect* takes the auxiliary *mæ* with the Past Participle.

The *Pluperfect* has *meycht hæ*, or *wad hæ*, with the Past Participle in the same circumstances as the Past; "yf yt hæd bein aye as sayr, aa wadna hæ thuoled it seae lang," If it had always been so painful, I would not have borne it so long.

The IMPERATIVE MOOD is the simple stem of the verb; in the Emphatic form it takes the auxiliary *dui*, and in the Negative *dynna*; the simple verb followed by *nocht* or *na*, as in *gang-nocht* or *gang-na*, being antiquated, and nearly obsolete in living speech.

The INFINITIVE PRESENT is also the stem of the verb, or the present participle preceded by BE: tui syng or tui bey syngan'.

The *Perfect Infinitive* takes the auxiliary *hæ* before the *Past Participle:* tui hæ eiten, *or* tui hæ bein eitand.

The *Future Infinitive* takes the auxiliary *go* tui bey gaand-a-eit, gaan'-a-eit *or* gaan' tui eit.

The Participles and Gerund have already been described.

The *Negative* forms of all these parts are formed by prefixing *nô*, nô tui gang, nô cumman', nô hæin' hârd o'd.

Analytical Perfect Tense.

The combination of the past participle with *have* continues to be used in the Scotch dialects in a more primitive or analytical form than in the English Perfect tense, where the two elements coalesce into the single idea expressed in Greek by a single word *πέπραγα*, I have done. In this older construction, the participle follows the governed words as in German, thus "Hæ ye aa yer wàrk duin? Hey'll suin hæ the buik ræd," which have not precisely the same force as "Hæ ye duin aa yer wàrk, Hey'll suin hæ ræd the buik," the latter referring to the process, the former to the result, and suggesting that the thing remains in the condition to which it has been thus brought. Thus "schui hæd her wàrk suin duin" is really=she soon had her work in a state of completeness, she soon had her work (in the state of) done (work). This is, of course, the original idea out of which the modern Perfect tense with *have* has arisen.

As is well known, examples of the use of *have* as an auxiliary are rare in Anglo-Saxon, and the earliest of them all convey the idea expressed by the Scotch "schui hæs her wark duin." In Ælfric's *Colloquy*, we find "O monache, ecce probavi te habere bonos socios" translated "Ealá þu munuc, efne *ic hæbbe afandod* þe habban ȝode ȝeferan," where the sense is "I have (it as a thing) ascertained;" to be compared with the Latin "*Compertum habeo*, milites," "de Cæsare hoc *dictum habeo*," "vectigalia parvo pretio *redempta habere*," instances from the classical writers of the construction which has produced the perfect tense of the modern Romance languages, as in *j'ai compris, j'ai dit, avoir racheté les impôts*. The true Teutonic usage, according to which the simple preterite was used for all shades of past action, occurs a few lines later in the *Colloquy*: Ðu cnapa, hwæt *dydest* (fecisti) þu, to-dæȝ? Maneȝa þing ic *dyde* (feci.). Thou boy, what *hast thou done* to-day. Many things *have I done*. *Wære* þu (fuisti) to-dæȝ beswunȝen? Ic *næs* (fui), forþam wærlice ic me *heold* (tenui). *Hast thou been* whipped to-day? I *have* not *been*, because *I have behaved* myself carefully.

It would be interesting to know how far the Perfect remains in this rudimentary form in other dialects.

Full Conjugation of the Verb.

Indicative Mood.

	Present Actual.		*Present Habitual.*	
Affirm.	Aa'm	syngan'.	Aa	syng.
Emphat.	Aa ym		Aa dui *or* dyv	
Negat.	Aa'm nô		Aa dynna[1]	
Neg. Emph.	Aa ym nót		Aa dyv not	
Interrog.	Ym-aa	syngan'?	Dyv -aa	syng?
Neg. Interr.	Ym-aa nô		Dyv -aa nô	
Suasive.	Ym-n' aa		Dyv -n' aa	
Disuas.	Ym-n' aa nô		Dyv -n' aa nô	

[1] Older, but now uncommon "aa syng-na," sometimes "aa nô syng."

Imperfect.

A.	Aa wăs	syngan'.
E.	Aa wàs	
N.	Aa wàsna	
N.E.	Aa was not	
I.	Was aa	syngan'?
N.I.	Was aa nô	
S.	Was -n' aa	
D.	Was-n'aanô	

Past General.

A.	Aa sàng	
E.	Aa dyd syng	
N.	Aa dydna syng[1]	
N.E.	Aa dyd not syng	
I.	Dyd aa	syng?
N.I.	Dyd -aa nô	
S.	Dyd n' aa	
D.	Dyd n' aa nô	

Past Habitual.

	Aa uist-tui	syng.
	Aa dyd uis-tui	
	Aa uist-na tui / nô uist-tui	
	Aa dyd-na uis-tui	
	Uist-aa-tui[2]	syng?
	Uist-aa-nô tui	
	Uist-n' aa tui	
	Uist -n' aa nô tui	

Perfect Indefinite.

A.	Aa 've	sung.
E.	Aa hæ *or* hæv	
N.	Aa hæ-na	
N.E.	Aa hæv-not	
I.	Hæv-aa	sung?
N.I.	Hæv-aa nô	
S.	Hæv -n' aa	
D.	Hæv -n' aa nô	

Perfect Definite.

	Aa 've bein	syngan'.
	Aa hæ *or* hæv bein	
	Aa hæ-na bein	
	Aa hæv-not bein	
	Hæv-aa bein	syngan'?
	Hæv-aa nô bein	
	Hæv -n' aa bein	
	Hæv -n' aa nô bein	

Pluperfect Indefinite.

A.	Aa 'd	sung.
E.	Aa hæd	
N.	Aa hæd na	
N.E.	Aa hæd not	
I.	Hæd-aa	sung?
N.I.	Hæd-aa nô	
S.	Hæd n' aa	
D.	Hæd n' aa nô	

Pluperfect Definite.

	Aa 'd	bein syngan'.
	Aa hæd	
	Aa hæd-na	
	Aa hæd not	
	Hæd-aa	bein syngan'.
	Hæd-aa nô	
	Hæd-n' aa	
	Hæd-n' aa nô	

[1] Older, but now uncommon "aa sàng-na," sometimes "aa nô sàng."

[2] Perhaps more commonly "Dyd-aa-uis-tui, dyd aa nô uis-tui, dyd n' aa uis-tui, dyd n' aa nô uis-tui?"

	Simple Future.		*Future of Design.*	
A.	Aa 'll	syng *or* bey syngan.	Aa 'm *or* aa 've	tui syng.
E.	Aa wull		Aa ym *or* hæ	
N.	Aa 'll nô		Aa 'm nô *or* aa hæ-na	
N.E.	Aa wunna		Aa ym not *or* hæv-not	
I.	Wull-aa	syng *or* bey syngan'?	Ym aa *or* hæv-aa	tui syng?
N.I.	Wull-aa nô		Ym-aa nô *or* hæv-aa nô	
S.	Wull-n' aa		Ym -n' aa *or* hæv -n' aa	
D.	Wull-n' aa nô		Ym -n' aa nô *or* hæv -n' aa nô	

	Future Proximate.		*Future of Obligation.*	
A.	Aa'm gaand-a-	syng.	Aa-s'	syng.
E.			Aa sall	
N.	Aa 'm nô gaand-a-		Aa-s' nô	
N.E.			Aa sanna	
I.	Ym -aa gaand-a-	syng?	*No Interrogative forms in use.*	
N.I.	Ym-aa nô gaand-a-			
S.	Ym -n' aa gaand-a-		*Future Perfect.*	
D.	Ym-n' aa nô gaand-a-		Aa 'll hæ sung, or hæ bein syngan', etc., etc.	

"Subjunctive" or Hypothetical Mood.

	Present.	*Past.*
A.	(Yf) aa, yee, hey syng	(Yf) aa sàng
E.	(Yf) aa dui syng	(Yf) aa dyd syng
N.	(Yf) aa dynna syng *or* (Yf) aa nô syng	(Yf) aa dyd-na syng *or* (Yf) aa nô sàng.

"Potential" or Dependent Mood.

	Present.	*Past.*	
A.	(ăt) aa mæ syng	(ăt) aa meycht aa wad	syng.
N.	(ăt) aa mæ nô syng	(ăt) aa meycht -na aa wad -na	

	Perfect.		*Pluperfect.*	
A.	(ăt) aa mæ hæ	sung.	(ăt) aa meycht hæ aa wad hæ	sung.
N.	(ăt) aa mæ nô hæ		(ăt) aa meycht-na hæ aa wad-na hæ	

Imperative Mood.

Syng! *Emph.* Dui syng. *Neg.* Dynna syng (Syng-na *antiq.*)

Infinitive Mood.

Pres. tui syng *or* tui bey syngan' *Perf.* tui hæ sung *or* tui hæ bein syngan'. *Fut.* tui bey gaand-a-syng.

Participles.

Pres. syngand, syngan'. *Past* sung. Perf. hæan' sung.
Fut. gaand-a-syng, gaan'-a-syng, or gaan'-tui-syng.

Gerund.

Pres. synging, syngein. *Perf.* hæin' sung.

PASSIVE VOICE.

The past participle of a verb preceded by the auxiliary BE, forms the Passive Voice, as *the waa's built, the cairt was cowpit,* the cart was overturned.

This Passive only expresses the *completion* of an action, thus *the hoose is built,* does not mean *the house is now being built* (das Haus *wird* gebaut, domus *ædificatur*), but *the house is already built* (das Haus *ist* gebaut, domus *ædificata est*). Here the *present* fact is that the building is *past;* similarly in the assertion *the hoose 'll bey built the-muorn,* the *future* fact is that the building will to-morrow be *past.* This is, therefore, not a Passive of *Action,* but of *Result.* To express the Passive of action, equal to the Latin *ædificatur, ædificabatur, ædificabitur,* the Scotch uses the form *the hoose is buildan'.* This is not a contraction of the Old Eng. *a-building,* as the form is not the gerund but the participle, and represents the middle voice *buildan' itsel',* and thus *being built.* But as this form, being identical with the Active voice, would often cause ambiguity, it is usual in Scotch, as in French, to make such sentences active, with the indefinite Nominative *thay,* pronounced (dhə), Fr. *on.* Thus, "Many houses are at present being built here," would be rendered "The 're buildan' monie hooses heir the-nuw." Indeed, this use of *thay* in the indefinite sense of *people generally, some one, any one,* is almost as common in Scotch as in French. "Thăy say ăt wey're tui hæ waar," it is said that we shall have war; "quhat dui thăy dui wui thyr?" what is done with these? "dui thăy sæll schuin at the kreames?" are shoes sold at the stalls? So in all the operations of husbandry, etc., as, "thăy're scheiran' aa roond heir-away," reaping is going on all around in this direction; "thys is the munth ăt thăy clyp the scheip onna the oot-bye færms," this is the month in which sheep are shorn on out-lying *or* upland farms; "quhat dui thay meake oot o' the schuort 'oo?" what is made from the short wool?

The Old English usage in "a house to let," "a letter to write," holds its ground in the north: 'Thyr stycks is tui cairrie heame.'

Adverbs.

The Adverbs of Manner which in Eng. are formed by the termination *-ly*, Ags. *-líce*, O.E. *-liche*, are in Sc. as in most of the Teutonic dialects, identical with the Adjective; thus *a lood synger, hey syngs lood; nærr duin*, nearly done; *schui can eisie dui'd*, she can easily do it. *Guid* is an adjective only, the adverb being *weill*. From adjectives in *-lie* we sometimes find adverbs in *-lies*, as if genitive forms, like *once, thrice, needs;* thus *leyklie, leyklies, rædilies*, probably; compare *stridlings*, astride, *gruvelings*, (also *a-gruif*), prone, *eäblins, eäbles* perhaps, *mæ-bey, mæbeys*, mayhap. The word *ways* (wɔz)=*wise, ways*, is also used to give an adverbial force; as, "hey was lookan' keynd o' hyngan'-wa's quhan aa mæt 'ym; the cheild cam lowpan'-wa's doon the luone." The phrase *an'aa* (=and all) is used with the value of *also, besides*, 'càllants an' wainschis *an'aa'*, boys and girls *also*.

Adverbs of Degree comprise *keynd o'* (American *kinder*), somewhat, rather, *gaye*, pretty, *gayelie,-s*, pretty much, *unco'*, exceedingly uncommonly, *aa*, all, quite, *aathegyther*, altogether, *ameaste*, almost, *vœrra*, very, *sayr*, sore, very much, *ower*, too, too much (American *over*). *Avaa'*, in negative sentences, *noa avaa'* not at all, *i.e.* not *of all* (point *du tout*). *Aafu'* and *tærrible*, meaning simply *very, exceedingly*, illustrate the change in the use of the Greek δεινός between Homer and Demosthenes. In Eng. the adverb *as* has two uses, demonstrative and relative, as in '*as* white *as* snow,' the distinction between which becomes apparent on translation: *aussi* blanc *que* la neige, *so* weiss *wie* Schnee, *tan* blanco *como* la nieve, etc. In Early and Middle Scotch, the forms were quite distinct, *als* quhyte *as* snau; and in the modern dialect they are still pronounced differently (*aas, az*); *aass* quheyte *az* snaa. The Eng. *so* is translated by *seae*, older *sa, swa*, when it expresses *manner:* "Gang an' dui *seae*"; but by *that* when it expresses *degree*, or is used *pronominally*: "the bairn 's nô *thàt* yung," the child is not *so* young; "hey said it *thàt* òft," he said it *so* often. Is that true? *It is so.* Sc. Yt yz *thàt*.

The Adverbs of *Cause* and *Effect, quhy* or more fully *for-quhy*, and *for-thy* (Ags. forhwí, forþý), are found in Sc. literature down to the 16th c., but seem now to be obsolete, being replaced by *quhat for?* and *for that; quhairfor* and *thairfor* are less common.

Of Adverbs of Place, *whence, thence, hence, whither, thither, hither*, in the old language *quhethen, thethen, hethen*, later *quhyne, thyne, hyne*, and *quhiddir, thiddir, hiddir*, are now obsolete, although *hyne-furth* henceforth, *fra thyne* thenceforth, were still used in the 17th c. The modern spoken idiom is "*Quhayr* dui-ye cum *fræ? quhayr* 're ye gaan' *tui?* or more commonly "*Quhayr* 'r ye gaan'? Thay're geane away *fræ theare.*" *Yònder* or *thònder* is the adverb from *yòn, thòn*.

In compound adverbs, the Eng. *-where* is replaced by *-geate:*

sumgeate, oniegeate, neaegeate, aageate, -s, *somewhere, anywhere, nowhere, everywhere.*

Away is used pleonastically, with verbs of motion, like *hin* and *her* in German. Thus "Cum away yn, *kommen Sie herein;* Ryn away doon, *Laufen Sie hinunter. Cum yn, Gang oot,* sound peremptory and harsh; by saying *Cum away yn* (or *Cum yeir ways yn*), *Gang away oot,* the effect is softened into the form of an invitation. *Bye* is used to form adverbs out of prepositions, thus *up-bye, doon-bye, oot-bye, ower-bye, yn-bye,* meaning *at some place* which is recognized as *up, down,* etc. *Huw yr ye aa doon-bye?* How are you all down with you? *Cum yn-bye an' gie's yeir crâks,* come in this way and tell us your news. *An oot-bye wurker,* an out-of-doors servant.

Adverbs of Time.—*To-day, to-morrow, to-night,* are *the day, the muorn, the neycht.* We find the same in the 16th c., but in the Early Period, *to-morne:*

> Thocht thow wer gret as Gow-mak-morne,
> Traist weile that we sall meit *the morn.*
> Lyndesay—*Sq. Meldrum.*

> Perilows thingis may fall perfay,
> Als wele *to-morne* as yhistirday.—*Barbour's Bruce.*

A similar change of *to* into *the* is seen in *thegether* for *together,* old Sc. *togyddir. Morn, muorn,* is always used for *morrow, demain; mornin'* for *morning, matin.* To-morrow morning, to-morrow night, are *the muorn's muornin', the muorn's neycht. Yester evening* is *yestrein.* As in the old dialect, *when, then,* are still *quhàn, thàn.*

Just now, at present, is in Sc. *een-nuw, eenuw,* often *the nuw.* In Mod. Eng. it looks toward the past; in Scotch, as in Shakespeare's English, to the future, "hey'll cum the nuw," he will come presently. *Yet* older *ȝit, yhit,* refers to continuation of past time: *the quhuns is aye theare yet,* the furze is still there; but in interrogative and negative sentences to anticipation of future time: *hæ ye hàppent onna them yet? Nó yet.* Have you lighted on them yet? Not yet. *Ells* (ælz) antiq. *ellis,* is used for *already. Hey's suirly nó bàck ells!* Surely he has not returned already!

The Ags. *siþþan,* O.E. *sithen,* has been split into two forms, *seyne* advb. *subsequently, afterwards, further,* and *sen, syn,* prep. and conj. *since; quhayr hæ ye bein sen hærst?* where have you been since harvest; *fyrst thay grat an' seyne thay leuwch,* first they wept and then they laughed; *ye'd as weill dui'd suin as seyne,* you would as well do it soon as later; *lang-seyne*=long-ago, "the days o' auld lang syne." The two forms combined, *sen seyne,* equal the Eng. *since then; aa've oft thouwcht o' d sen-seyne,* I have often thought of it since.

The same distinctions are found in the 15th and 16 centuries: "he gart strik the heidis fra the tuelf lordis of Irland, and *sen syne* al the Irland men ar sklauis til hym."—*Compl. of Scot.*

The forms of the Negative in use are: in composition *n-*, as

aither, naither, eane, neane. But verbal forms in *n-*, like *nis, nave, nill, nare,* have never been favoured by the Northern dialect, which uses instead forms with an affixed -na, *hæ-na, wunna, canna, wasna,* in the 16th century *haif-nocht, can nocht, was nocht.* In other cases *not* is expressed by *noa, nó,* also derived from *nocht* (compare *thó* from *thocht*) ; Wad ye nô gàng= would you not go ? In more northern Scotch *nae* (derived from *nane*) is used instead of *nó,* as, *Yr thay nae foo ?* South Sc. *Yr thay nó fuw ? Neane* and *nòt* are used as stronger negatives than *nae* and *noa.* The three degrees of negation in the French *il ne peut, il ne peut pas, il ne peut point,* might be rendered in Scotch *he canna, he nó can, he neane can.* The adverb *No !* in answer to a question, is *naa !* "Ye mæn àns'er aither *æy* or *naa.*" The affirmative *æy* is perhaps more common than *yes* in the spoken dialect; *yhis, yis,* is the usual form in the old writers. By pronouncing *æy* as a dissyllable *æ-ay,* in a lazy manner with the lips shut, so that the voice escapes through the nose, we have the northern *'mhm, 'nhn, 'nghng,* "that ugly word *'mhm* that stands for an *ay !*" [1]

Alone has given rise to curious forms in the Northern Dialect, recalling the change of *thet-ane* into *the tane* (p. 176) and English *then once* into *the nonce. Alane* properly *all-ane* seems to have been taken as *al-lane,* or *a-lane,* and then *lane* separated and used by itself as an adjective, as in "a leane wumman," in which form it has also passed into modern Eng. as *a lone tarn. Lane* was next treated like *sel, self,* and accompanied by the *possessive* pronouns : "aa leive aa' be *masel,* or aa' *ma leane ;* the bairn's gaan' *hys leane.*"

Prepositions.

The chief prepositions are the following, in which it will be seen that the English prefix *be-* is in Scotch commonly *a-* (Ags. *on-, a-*) :—

Aboot, *about*	amyds o', i' the myds o', *amid*	be, bey, *by*
abuin, *above*	anæth, *beneath*	ben, *within*
acròss	anænt, *concerning*	but, *without*
æfter, *after*	anunder, *under*	bye, *by*
afuore, *before*	aseyde, *beside*	doon, *down*
ageane, ageanst, *against*	àt	excep', excep'in, *except*
ahynt, *behind*	athuort, *athwart*	fòr
alàng, *along*	atwein, *between*	for aa, *notwithstanding*
amàng, *among*	ayont, *beyond*	for bye, *besides*
		fræ, thræ,[2] *from*

[1] According to popular statement, *'mhm* was first uttered in the following circumstances: "Auld Clootie" had made a raid upon the wicked wives of a certain town, and was marching off with one under each "oxter," and one between his teeth, when a goodman, loath to lose the chance of such a deliverance, called anxiously after the fiend if he could not take one more. Unable to open his mouth to say *ay !* for fear of dropping part of his booty, Simmie grunted *'mhm,* and with a dexterous *cleik* of his tail, snatched off the fourth victim also.

[2] *Thræ* is the universal pronunciation in the South of Scotland, and the substitution of *th* for *f,* is found as far

nær, nærrhaand,	*near*	seavin', *save*	wuthoot, athoot, *without*
òf o', *of, off*		tyll, *to, till*	yont, yownt, yoint, *along, through, to or towards the other side.*
on, onna, *on*		thruw, *through*	
ontui, *upon*		under	
ower, *over*		up	ynn, ynna, i', *in*
oot o', *out of*		-wart, *-ward*	
quheyle, *till*		wui, wuth, *with*	yntui, yntyll, *into*
roond, *round*		wuthyn, *within*	

Prepositions of time and place are used also adverbially.

Anunder is perhaps *in under*, "quhat yr ye luikan' for anunder the bæd?"

Athuort, "hey gangs a suort athuort the cuintrie," he goes a great deal about, *or* up and down, the country.

Be and *bye* are distinct, *be* being used of the instrument or author *ὑπὸ*; *bye* of place and mental relationship *παρὰ*. They thus become the reverse of each other, as in the following from H. Charteris's Preface to Lyndesay, "nouther gude nor euill can fall vnto tham, *by* the will of thair Father," i.e. *beyond*, or *without* his will; "he forther intendis *be* the help of God, to vse the lyke diligence," i.e. *by* or *with* his help. *Bye* preserves the sense of *παρὰ* when compounded, as *bye-common*, *bye-ordnar*. The derivation *forbye*, means *besides*, in *addition* to, adverbially *moreover*, "the'll be plaintie theare forbye yuw."

But, *bot*, was regularly used in the Early and Middle periods in the sense of *without*, *sine*; "a land bot a king." *But* is still used for *without* in speaking of place, and particularly of the parts of a house, when it is opposed to *ben*, *bæn*; thus "gang but the hoose," go into the outer apartment or kitchen; "ye're wantit ben-a-hoose *or* ben the hoose," you are wanted in the inner part of the house, in the parlour, Ags. bútan, bynnan, *be-out*, *be-in*, with-out, with-in. In the old style of domestic architecture, access to the parlour was had only through the kitchen, and the former was called the *ben-end*, the latter the *but-end*, and in farm kitchens the domestics still speak of the master's family as "the ben-a-house folk." Houses which consist of two rooms only are said to have "a *but* and a *ben*;" if there is an additional chamber off the parlour, they have a *but*, a *ben*, and a *færr-ben*. People who live in contiguous apartments are said to live *but-and-ben* with one another; and hence also the metaphorical phrase "to be unco far-ben" with any one *i.e.* to be very intimate with him, deeply in his confidence, as if invited not only to his parlour, but to his chamber or "far-ben." In the Romance of "Guy of Warwick," etc., we have *but* and *ben* also in Old English.

O', *i'*, *wui* are the common forms of *of* (not *ov*), *in*, *with*, unless when emphasized.

Oot, *yn*, *on*, are almost always used adverbially, *oot ŏ*, *ynnă*, *onnă*, being the prepositional forms. It is doubtful whether the etymology is *out of*, *in of*, or *oota*, *inna*, from Ags. *útan*, *innan*, Old Eng. *ute*, *ine*; probably the former. Compare "Quhat ys 't ăt 's at eance ootŏ Cheinie an' innă Cheinie? Tey. "*What is it that is at once out-of China and (?) in-of China? Tea. Ontui*, *ontă*, expresses motion, "hey lap ontă the horse."

Quheyle, *quhyl*=till, as "beyde quhyl the muornin," is becoming antiquated.

Tyll and *tui* are synonymous; in most parts of Scotland *tyll* is used more than *tui* in speaking of place, or even with the infinitive mood, "Tell him till gang till his faither," but in the South *tui* is the more common, *tyll* being only substituted for euphony, as *tyl't* for *tui't*, to it; "hey was sayr *put tyl't* aboot his luoss," he was sadly perplexed about his loss. In Fife and adjacent districts, the prepositions of motion *into*, *onto*, are regularly used for those of rest, "Ye'll fynd the preins yntă the box; he leeves yntui *or* ynt'l a graan' hoose." So with Lyndesay, Harry the Minstrel, and other writers who were natives of the Central district.

south as the Barnsley dialect, where *from* is *throo*. *Frae* must be a difficult combination, for the Central and Northern Scottish is *fae* (compare Greek *θήρα* and Latin *fera*).

Conjunctions.

The chief Conjunctions are:

An', *and*, tui, *too, also*, aither, *either*, naither, *neither*, ŏr, nŏr, but, for, sen, *since*; yf, gyf, gin, an, *if*; thoa, athoa (thoo, ᵾthoo), *though, although*, ăt, *that*, leist, *lest*; a-cause, 'cause (kʉz) *because*.

Yf and *gin, gyn*, are the ordinary conditional conjunctions. *Gin* is probably a contraction of *gie'n, given*, i.e. granted; *yf* spelt by the Scotch writers *gyf, give, gyue*, was also by them identified with the verb *give*, though not really connected with it. *An* is little used in the living dialects, though common in the early writers, where, as in Old Eng., it was often spelt *and*, with which word it was identical. The combination *and if, an if*, seems to have been used to express a hypothesis more emphatically=*even if, even though*:

> But *and if* that wicked servant say in his heart, etc.

Then with the omission of *if*, the *and* or *an* was used alone with the same meaning, as in the Early Scotch writers:

> For *and* he de, as he suld de, he suld think that he suld pas to mare joy.
> *And* we resist his temptacioums, we sal have þerfor gret reward in hevyne.
> *Craft of Deyng.*

> If *ifs* and *ans* were pots and pans
> There'd be nae trade for tinkers.[1]

Though was always written by the Sc. writers *thocht, thoucht*: perhaps they identified it with *thought*, as if it were *supposed, supposing*.

> Thocht thai war quheyn, thai war worthy.

Thŏ is used like the German *doch* and Dutch *toch*, to imply a concession; Es ist heute doch kalt! *yt's caald thŏ the day!* it is cold to-day, though who would have thought it? *Hey's a keynd buodie thŏ*, he is a kind man, one must confess after all.

Interjections.

Exclamation *Ay!* Wonder *ee!* Alarm, awe, pain *O! oo!* Objection, opposition, *æh! æh but!* Doubt, contempt, *h'mh!* Vexation *'t! 't! 'ts! 'ts!* (with suction of the breath). Aversion, repulse *towts! tuts!* Disgust *feech!* Surprise *lòsh! lòk!* Surprise at meeting *halloa!* Calling after, *hāye! hōy!* Expostulation *weh!* (weh! quhat wad ye hæ?) Triumph, contempt, *hooch!* Exultation *hurray!* Laughter *he! he!, hay! hay!, ha! ha!, ho! ho!, hui! hui!* Commiseration *wuw! quhowe! ay quhowe! allaice! weae's mey!* *Nă*, or *nĕh*, apparently from *now*, is often used interjectionally to soften a command or give force to an entreaty, quite like the Hebrew נָא now! pray! *Co 'way nĕh!* do come, pray. *Staand styll, neh! leyke a màn.* Do stand still, there's a man!

[1] The Rev. Hateley Waddell says in his remarks on the language of Burns, that *if* and *gin* are used differently, *gin* expressing a concession, and *if* a mere supposition. I have not found this distinction in actual speech.

APPENDIX.

PRESENT LIMITS OF THE CELTIC IN SCOTLAND.

The extent to which the Gaelic is still spoken in Scotland has been referred to in the preceding pages. Having found, while engaged in the preparation of this work, that there exists no accurate account of the limits within which the old tongue is now confined, at the suggestion of some of the members of the Philological Society, I issued in 1869–1870, a series of inquiries to clergymen and others residing along what, from personal examination, I knew to be the linguistic frontier, accompanied by sketch maps of their respective districts, upon which I asked them to lay down the approximate limits of the Gaelic. These inquiries were in every instance most courteously and fully answered, and I have here to acknowledge the great obligations under which I lie to the various gentlemen who so warmly responded to my requests.[1] When arrangements were being made for the census of 1871, the Philological Society memorialized the Home Office with a view to have the linguistic statistics of Great Britain collected in the returns, as is so admirably done in Russia, Austria, and other Continental countries. Had this been acceded to, very much more minute information than is here communicated would have been within our reach. But as no attention was paid to the suggestion, these notes will in some measure do for the Gaelic what would have been possible also for Irish, Welsh, and

[1] These are the Rev. Wm. Ross, of Chapelhill Manse, Rothesay, a native of Caithness, to whom I am mainly indebted for notes upon Caithness and the other counties N. of the Murray Firth, and also on the islands and coasts of the Clyde; the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, of Ardclach, and Rev. John Whyte, Moyness, for the counties of Nairn and Elgin; the Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (Editor of the "Banffshire Dialect"), and James Skinner, Esq., Factor to the Duke of Richmond, for Elgin and Banff; the Rev. Robt. Neil, of Glengairn (through Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Crathie), for Aberdeenshire; the Rev. Neil McBride, of Glenisla, for N.W. of Forfar, and adjacent parts of Aberdeen and Perthshires; the Rev. Samuel Cameron, of Logierait, Rev. Dr. McDonald, of Comrie, Rev. Hugh McDiarmid, of Callander, for the adjoining parts of Perthshire; the Rev. W. Mackintosh, of Buchanan, for the W. part of Stirlingshire; the Rev. Duncan Campbell, of Luss, for the district between Loch Lomond and Loch Long; and the Rev. Neil Mackenzie, of Kilchrenan, formerly missionary in St. Kilda, for that island, and other western parts. To the Revs. W. Ross, Neil McBride, and Walter Gregor (Member of the Philological Society), I am specially indebted for much general assistance in addition to the information as to their own districts.

the Norman French of the Channel Isles. The general result is seen in the Map, where, however, it is to be observed that the *outside limits* of the Gaelic are shown, that is, every district is included in which Gaelic is still *spoken by any natives*, regardless of the fact, that English may be spoken by the majority of the people. To a distance of ten miles probably all round the frontier, Gaelic may be considered to be the language of a decreasing minority, especially in the towns; in almost every part of the Highlands, English is now more or less understood and spoken. These facts, which could not easily be shown on the map, are detailed in the following notes, whence also it can be seen how steadily the Celtic has been retreating backwards step by step within living memory. The traditional Highland boundary line, as it existed to 1745, is shown in the map, and affords the same evidence as to the retreat of the Gaelic frontier.

The linguistic boundary is formed by a wide curve, extending from the head of the Murray Firth by the N.E. corner of Perthshire to the Firth of Clyde; of the three natural divisions of Scotland, the Gaelic area does not touch the Southern, cuts off the larger part of the Central, and the whole of the Northern, with exception of the N.E. point of Caithness, and the Orkney and Shetland Isles, which have long been Teutonic. On the other hand it includes a portion of the N.E. of Ireland, the dialect of which is identical with that of the opposite coast of Kintyre. More particularly, the line may be drawn from a point on the Murray Firth, about three miles W. of the town of Nairn, southwards towards Loch Clans, and S.E. to Geddes, thence S. and E. by the S.W. boundary of the parish of Auldearn, and so on to Coulmony on the Findhorn, whence S.E. to the Knock of Murray. Thence across the Spey, midway between Cromdale and Ballindulloch, to Lyne on the Avon, and along the southern watershed of Glen Livet to Aberdeenshire; across Strath Don, nearly in the line of the road from Inverness to Balmoral, to a point on the Dee, about three miles above Ballater. South of the Dee, the Gaelic has retreated several miles farther west, so that the line leaves that river about six miles above Balmoral, and runs south over the Grampians, to the boundary between Perth and Forfar (no part of the latter county being Gaelic), which it follows as far as Mount Blair, thence across Glen Shee and Strath Airdle, the lower part of which is now English, and S.W. across the moors to the Tay between Dunkeld and Dowally. From Dunkeld by Birnam Hill, and the southern watershed of Strath Bran to Glen Almond, thence south by the head of Glen Turritt to Comrie. From Comrie, along the braes of Doune to the Teith, three or four miles below Callander, and so on by the north side of Lake of Monteith to Gartmore, where the boundary leaves Perthshire. In Stirlingshire, from Gartmore to Rowardennan on Loch Lomond, and across that lake by Glen Douglas to Loch Long. In the Clyde, the line may be carried directly down by

the east of Bute, Arran, and Cantire. But this includes extensive districts in which it is hard to say how far the Gaelic is to be considered native, inasmuch as it would certainly have been already extinct there but for fresh accessions of Celts from more inland districts. One correspondent, a native of Arran, says the line should proceed "from Arroquhar to Dunoon, and from Dunoon to Kames Castle (leaving out the Toward district as no longer Gaelic); from Kames, across the narrow part of Bute (Gaelic being no longer native in the south half of Bute) to Arran, so as to include that island, and thence to the Mull of Kintyre; . . . . even in some districts within the line, such as Dunoon and south end of Kintyre, Gaelic is almost extinct." Another, who is minister of the Free Gaelic Church in Rothesay, says, "In Bute, and the district on the shores of Cowall, from Inverchaolin, by Toward, Dunoon, Sandbank, Kilmun, and Strone, English prevails, but a few natives and a considerable immigrant population still speak Gaelic. Of the native farmers in the Isle of Bute, probably *ten* can speak Gaelic. A small portion of the Gaelic-speaking people in the town of Rothesay are also natives, but the large body consists of immigrants. Gaelic is still preached in the Established Church at North Bute, also occasionally at Port Bannatyne, while there is regular Gaelic service in the Established and Free Gaelic churches in Rothesay. The Gaelic population in North Bute is almost entirely immigrant. About 1843–5, the estate of Skipness was sold, and the new proprietor cleared away a large part of the inhabitants, who came over and settled in Bute. In the district from Inverchaolain to Strone, along the shore, a few natives still speak the language; there is a considerable Gaelic population in Kilmun, and a few in Sandbank; in Dunoon there are said to be upwards of 200 Gaelic-speakers, but chiefly immigrant. It is curious to observe the nature of the change going on along the border line: the Gaelic people are gradually going to the principal towns in their neighbourhood, while Lowlanders who have been successful in business in the towns, or farmers from the south, go to occupy farms or residences within the Gaelic area. This change has taken place extensively in the district from Otter Ferry on Loch Fyne round to Loch Long . . . . I do not think Gaelic is extinct anywhere in Kintyre. Even in the farming district of Southend, a few natives still speak it; and in Campbellton, I think a majority of the people use the ancient tongue, so that the line may safely pass south of the peninsula."

In Caithness, at the other extremity of the line, the boundary is drawn "from the mouth of the water of Forss, west of Thurso, by the village of Hallkirk, and to the N.E. of Harpsdale, along the road to Achkeepster, and thence by a gentle curve to Bruan Head." The majority of the people in the village of Lybster, and in Mid Clyth and East Clyth, speak English. In Caithness, Gaelic is regularly preached in Dunbeath, Latheron, Lybster,

Halsary, Westerdale, Hallkirk, Reay, and occasionally in Bruan. In Ross-shire the district from Tain to Tarbat Ness, and along the coast to Invergordon, is chiefly Gaelic. The Gaelic School Society occupies two stations in this peninsula, one at Hilton and Balintore, and another at Inver. The district from Cromarty southward along the shore to near Avoch, is chiefly English, local tradition stating that it has been so since the time of James VI., when a number of people from the south settled here (see Hugh Miller's "Schools and Schoolmasters").[1] But there is a large Gaelic congregation at Resolis, and smaller ones at Fortrose and Avoch.

In the County of Nairn, Auldearn has been an English parish for many generations. In the town of Nairn, Gaelic preaching was given up in the parish church in 1854, upon petition of the parishioners; it is still partly used in the Free Church for the sake of old people, but these are chiefly immigrants from the parishes of Ardersier, Petty, etc., who have settled in the town. In the parish of Ardclach, a few natives speak Gaelic, and for the sake of old people it is preached in the Free Church, but has been discontinued for ten or twelve years in the parish church. In the other parishes of this county, Gaelic is still preached for the sake of the old people, but the Celtic is "gradually disappearing, most of the young people being quite ignorant of it." The traditional Highland boundary passes through the town of Nairn, and its mixed population was already a matter of note in the reign of James VI., if we may credit a story told of that monarch after his accession to the English throne. His courtiers are said to have boasted in his presence of the size of London in comparison with any town in Scotland, but the King declared that there was in the North of Scotland a town so large, that the people at one extremity of it spoke a different language from those at the other!

In the lower division of Elginshire, Gaelic is extinct, but is still preached in the parishes of Cromdale, Abernethy, and Duthil, in the upper part of the county; in Banffshire it is used in divine service only at Kirkmichael and Tomantoul. "No Gaelic has been spoken in any part of Inveravon for very many years, nor in Glen Livet for upwards of forty years at least; even in Tomantoul, I am told by natives that the children now cannot speak one word of it, and that in thirty years or less it will be quite lost."

In Aberdeenshire, Gaelic is not now used in the public worship of any church. Down to the Disruption in 1843, it was partly used in the parish churches of Braemar, Crathie, and Glengairn,

[1] Inverness has also a large English population, which local tradition attributes to a garrison left by Cromwell. Extraordinary ideas are current as to the purity of the Inverness English, the most that can be said for which is, that it is Book-English and not Lowland Scotch. But "it is not correct to consider Inverness as an English town, isolated and surrounded by the Gaelic; the latter has still a firm hold of a large part of the town; in at least four churches Gaelic is the language used, and that for people born and brought up in the town."

and in the parish church at Ballater at the Communion only; but in all these it has been disused since 1845, and in the Free Churches since 1850. In the Roman Catholic Chapels it has been obsolete for a much longer period. It is still used in ordinary conversation by a considerable proportion of the population of Glengairn, Crathie, and Braemar; it is the first language learnt in a very few families, but every child above ten years of age may be said to understand English. It is nearly, but not altogether extinct in Strathdon; but has not been used in Glenbucket for a long time past. Towie and Glentanner, although their topical names are all Gaelic, have been considered as below the Highland line for several centuries. None of the natives there know anything of Gaelic, which is fast disappearing even in Braemar.

Although a portion of Forfarshire was included within the Highland boundary, and the local names are Celtic, Gaelic is not spoken in any part of the county; nor has it been used in public worship in any parish since the Reformation at least (except in Dundee, where there is a Gaelic church for immigrants, as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London).

In Perthshire, Gaelic is commonly spoken in the upper part of Glen Shee and Strath Ardle; but "in the Free Church of Kirkmichael, Strath Ardle, there has been no Gaelic preached for several years, and it is going and almost gone in the Established Church."[1] It has for some time been used in divine service, in summer only, in the parish of Logierait, and "is or ought to be used in whole or part in every parish in the Presbytery of Weem." It has been quite disused at Dowally, but is partly used at Little Dunkeld. "In the parishes of Comrie and Callander, Gaelic is much spoken, and frequently preached in; Aberfoyle has a Gaelic-speaking minister, and he till recently officiated half the Sabbath in Gaelic; but now only occasionally. These parishes lie along the frontier line; inward, and completely or nearly quite Celtic are Balquhidder, Killin, Kenmore, Weem, etc."

In Stirlingshire, Buchanan parish, which extends along the whole east side of Loch Lomond, and across to Loch Katrine, is the only part in which Gaelic is spoken, though there is now "probably not a person in the parish who cannot understand and speak English. No Gaelic is spoken below the pass of Balmaquha. Between that and Rowardennan, Gaelic is used in some families, and is in pretty common use above Rowardennan. But it has

[1] *An Address to Highlanders respecting their native Gaelic, showing its superiority over the artificial English*, etc., by Archibald Farquharson. Edinburgh, Maclachlan and Stewart, 1868. Referring to Strath Ardle, the writer says, "Although my native country, I am quite ashamed of them. Who wrote the inscription 'Mile failte' (a thousand welcomes) on the top of the arch at Kirkmichael, on the occasion of a certain gentleman up the country taking home his English bride? I passed under it, and expressed my astonishment to see it, *as the children spoke nothing but English in the street.*"

long ceased to be taught in school, and has not been used in church for half a century, with the exception of an annual sermon at Inversnaid, discontinued in 1868." West of Loch Lomond, Gaelic is extinct among the natives of Luss, but there is a constant influx of slate quarriers, servants, etc., who speak Gaelic, from Argyllshire. English alone has been used in church for fifty years, the last Gaelic minister having been Dr. Stewart, one of the translators of the Gaelic Bible. Even he, in the latter part of his ministry, had a Gaelic service only once a month. In Arroquhar, Gaelic is still in general use, but receding. Divine service is regularly in Gaelic and English.

With regard to the identity of dialect between the Scottish Highlands and a part of Ulster (a point to which my attention was first called by H.R.H. Prince Lucien Bonaparte), I have been favoured with information from the Rev. Classon Porter, of Larne, and Robt. MacAdam, Esq., of Belfast, an eminent Celtic scholar, and well acquainted with the dialectical divisions of the Irish. The district in question is "the Glens of Antrim," opposite to Kintyre, with the adjacent Isle of Rachrin (Anglicized *Rathlin*); the area has been much circumscribed within living memory. "The people are evidently the same as those of Argyll, as indicated by their names, and for centuries a constant intercourse has been kept up between them. Even yet the Glensmen of Antrim go regularly to the Highland fairs, and communicate without the slightest difficulty with the Highlanders. Having myself conversed with both Glensmen and Arranmen, I can testify to the absolute identity of their speech."—*R. MacAdam, Esq.* The Celtic of all the rest of Ulster, viz., in Donegal, and isolated patches in Derry, Tyrone, and south of Armagh, differs considerably from the Scottish Gaelic, and is truly an Irish dialect. But there is not the slightest reason to deduce the Glensmen from Scotland; they are a relic of the ancient continuity of the population of Ulster and Western Scotland.

The most advanced outpost of the Celtic in the Old World, is the Isle of St. Kilda, lying far out in the Atlantic, to the west of the Hebrides. The language is entirely Gaelic, none of the natives knowing any English but the little that they may be taught by their minister or missionary. All the topical names are Celtic, and the Northmen seem never to have reached the island. The Gaelic has the dialectic peculiarity, that *l* is pronounced instead of *r*, as in Harris, which strikes the hearer very strangely at first.

Such are the limits within which the Scottish Gaelic is now spoken; its recession within living memory aids us at least in depicting the successive steps by which it has receded during the ten centuries since it occupied all the territory north of Forth. At the War of Independence, I think it probable that it extended to the Ochil and Sidlaw Hills, and that north of the Tay the "Inglis" was limited to a very narrow strip along the coast.

Galloway and Carrick in the S.W. were also Gaelic in the 16th century; and it is probable that we are to look to the Reformation, and to the use of the Lowland Scotch in public worship and the parish schools, for its disappearance there. No mention of this division of the Erse stock is found in the earliest records, and they appear to have occupied, in the 8th or 9th century, a territory formerly held by the Britons.

Celtic scholars distinguish three dialects in the Scottish Gaelic, a Northern, a Central, and a South-western (*see Map*). The Northern division, comprising Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and North Hebrides, is distinguished by its "narrow, sharp, and arid" pronunciation, its consonantal character, and tendency to suppress guttural sounds, as in *mac*, *pasgadh*, *deagh*, which are pronounced (mak, paskgəv, tjee·əv) for (makhk, paskgugh, tjee·ugh). "The pronunciation gives reason to think that the inhabitants spoke some Northern language at one time." Probably this is due to the great influence of the Norse in these parts. In the South-western division, comprising Argyle, Perth, and the Southern Isles, long *é* (*ee*) is used for long *i* (ii) of the central division; the language is most vocal, "the swelling sound of the terminations *adh* and *agh* are scarcely audible after a broad vowel; the words are generally pronounced with amazing rapidity, falling from the mouth with a kind of jerk, and such heedlessness that it is not easy sometimes for a stranger to catch the nature of the sound."[1] The northern variety is that which is easiest for a Sasunnach to acquire and understand, the South-western comes nearest to the Irish and the language of the old Celtic literature.

DIALECTS OF THE LOWLAND SCOTCH.

At p. 78 the general dialectical divisions of the Lowland Scotch, as well as their historical relations to each other, have been given. The areas occupied by these divisions, viz. the *North-eastern* group, containing the dialects of Caithness, Aberdeen, and Angus, the *Central* group, embracing those of Fife and Lothian, of Clydesdale, of the Highland border, and of Galloway, and the *Southern* group, containing only the border counties in Scotland, but closely connected with the dialects of Northumberland, of Shields, and of North Cumberland in England, will be seen in the map, where the affinities between the idioms are to some extent represented in the colouring.

As to the distinguishing characteristics of these dialectic forms, it has been the object of the preceding pages to show those of the Southern group; and at § 20 of the Historical Introduction, as well as throughout the work, they have been contrasted with those of the Central group.

The most prominent distinction of the North-eastern dialects is the use of *f* for *wh*, and of *vr* for *wr*, as in "fat's vrang," what's wrong? This peculiarity is current from the Pentland Firth to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Aberdeenshire and the district to the N W. toward the Murray Firth. Here the 12th vowel (*ə*, y) of the Central and Southern dialects, loses its labialization, so that long English

[1] *Principles of Gaelic Grammar*, by John Forbes, F.E.I.S. Edinburgh, 1848. The introduction contains a short sketch of the characteristics of the three dialects.

oo (in Centre and S. Scotland *ui*), is represented by *ee*, as in *do, boot, roof*, here *dee, beet, reef;* short *oo* by *ĭ*, or the high mixed vowels (ʏ, *y*), *moon, stool*, (mɨn, myn, stɨl, styl). The back consonants *k, g*, affect a preceding or following *oo*, changing *koo, ook*, into *kwee kwĭ*, and *yook*, as in good, cool, school, book, general Scotch guid, cuil, scuil, buik, here gweed, queel, squeal, byook. The sound of *cō*, in the south *cuo*, is often also changed to cwey (kwəi) as *cweyte, cweyle*, for *coat, coal*. As the *ai* (*ee*) of the other dialects, corresponding to Eng. ō, also often sinks into *ee*, thus *bone, stone*, Central Sc. *baene, staene*, here *been, steen*, the long *ee* is a prominent feature of the dialect. But this latter change is not found all over the district; and the Rev. Walter Gregor, in the preface to his "Dialect of Banffshire," distinguishes *three* dialectic varieties within the area, in the lower or coast variety of which *stone* and *bone* are *steen, been*, while in the middle they are stĕhn, bĕhn (sten, ben), and *meal, peats, fear, bear*, etc., *mail, paits, fehr, behr* (mel, pets, feer, beer). The short u (ɜ) of the other dialects often becomes *i* (e, *y*), as in mother, son, bull, full, here *myther, syn, byll, fyll*, often even with the vowel long. The long *aa* of the south of Scotland is often replaced by *ai*, as *gayn, aicht*, for *gaan, auwcht*, going, ought. The hard *g* is strongly palatalized, so much that I have often found it difficult to distinguish the pronunciation of *g*eng or gyang, *go* (gjɛq, djɛq) from *jeng*. In the coast districts there is also a strong tendency to substitute *d* for *th*, in *fadder, mudder, widder*, etc., for *father, mother, weather*.

In the dialect of Angus, south of the Grampians, the consonantal peculiarities of the *North-eastern* group are still found, but the vowel system is more like that of the Central Scottish, English *oo* being *ui* as *good, guid*. The *ĭ* or *y* of other dialects is often widened into *ŭ*, as *hum, tull, hur, mulk*, etc., for *him, till, her, milk*. D is sometimes softened into th (dh), as laddies (ladhiz).

In Caithness, in addition to the consonantal peculiarities of the North-east, we find the use of *sh* for *ch, shylder*=childer, and the regular dropping of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words, so that, *the, they, them, there, that*, appear as (i, *ee*, ɛm, *eer*, ət). The pairs made, maid, tale, tail, are distinguished as (méid, mèèd, téil, tèèl), a very different distinction from that used in the south. So the words *one, home, bread, head, place, way*, are *eynn* (éin, éinn), *heyme, breyde, heyde, pleyce, wey*. *While, bide, wife*, are foyle or fhoyle, boyd, woyfe (wohif).[1]

Of the *Central* group, the Clydesdale dialect is distinguished from that of Lothian chiefly by its broader vowels. The long *aa* especially is almost if not quite *aw* (ɑɑ) in *twa', awa', wauk*=

[1] Mr. Melville Bell says that the sound often at least given to *wh* in Caithness is not the simple *f*, but his mixed-divided labial (fh). Probably, however, this is an individual peculiarity. I hardly know whether to consider general a peculiar dwelling upon the letters *m* and *n* when final, as though they were doubled *eyn-n, man-n*, which was very noticeable in some of my Caithness correspondents, and seems to suggest Old Norse influence.

wake. It is heard also in the combination *-and,* where the *d* is regularly dropped, leaving such forms as *lawn, hawn,* for *land, hand;* so *ehn* for *end, meyne* for *mind, fyn* for *find.* Long *i* becomes broad (ɜi), *wuyves, buyde, stuy,* for wives, bide, stay. The *ui* is scarcely labial, *dui, tui, wui,* etc., being undistinguishable from *dae, tae, wae* (*dee, tee, wee*) or (d*ii*, t*ii*, w*ii*). Short *o* before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by (a, *a*) as in *pàt, tàp, stàp, pàrritch, dràp, bànnet, àff, àft, hàp, wàrlt,* for *pot, top, stop, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft*(en), *hop, world.* This change does not appear in the Early or Middle Scotch, and is probably of Celtic origin. In Modern times it has gained a wide currency from being used by Burns in this dialect.

In the Highland border along the south-east of Perthshire, we find *ĭ* regularly pronounced as *u,* as in *hull, mull, mulk, sulk,* hill, mill, milk, silk. *Ea* which in the more Southern dialects is *ei,* here remains *ai,* as *braid, haid, mail,* for *breid, heid, meil,* Eng. bread, head, meal. The article *the* is commonly contracted into *ee,* especially after *in,* as, in the, *i'ee* (*iii*, ii).

This last-mentioned peculiarity is found again in Galloway, at the opposite point of the Central group, associated with the prolonging or doubling of final nasal consonants even more strikingly than in Caithness. The verb *gang* becomes *gann;* the pronouns *his* and *her* are contracted to simple *s* and *r, he can gann tyl's faither,* he may go to his father; *gann yer waws,* go your way.

I had intended to furnish a comparative specimen of each of these eight dialectic forms, and had for this purpose taken down the first chapter of Ruth in the vernacular from the dictation of native speakers; but doubts as to the accuracy of my palæotypic renderings in some cases, which I have not at present the means of testing, have induced me to give only three of these, viz. one from each of the three great dialectic groups. The Southern counties dialect is represented by the Teviotdale specimen, given both in the conventional spelling used in this book, and for comparison with the others, in Mr. Ellis's palæotype also. The Central group is represented by the Ayrshire specimen,[1] and the North-eastern by that of Buchan.[2] In these I have used palæotype only; the conventional alphabet would have required a large extension of symbols in order to exhibit their phonetic differences, which even then would have been but clumsily and inaccurately shown. In the palæotype I have made use of the distinction suggested at p. 106, note 2, writing (*é*, é) for *close* sounds of (*e*, e) *i.e.* nearer to (i, *i*); (*è*, è) for *open* ones, nearer to (ɛ, æ). Thus I make the Teviotdale *day* (d*èè*), nearly (dɛɛ); the Aberdeen (d*éé*), that is almost (dii) or (d*ii*). The Scotch sound of *ĭ* in *bill, sit,* etc., is generally (*é*), *i.e.* a shade *higher* than Southern English *bell, set,* though much nearer to that than to Eng. *bill, sit.* The short or stopped (*e*, e) should have the same quality as the long vowels in each dialect, but as the difference is in their case scarcely perceptible, I have generally left them unmarked. In the Palæotype the words are united by hyphens into phonetic groups as pronounced, the accented syllable in each being marked by the *turned period* (·). Where this mark is wanting, the accent is on the last syllable of the group.

[1] From the dictation of Mr. Heron Duncan and his brother Mr. W. Duncan; revised by Mr. R. Giffen.

[2] Dictated by Mr. Thomas Forrest, and revised by his brother, Mr. W. Forrest, with the assistance of Mr. Melville Bell, by whom the sounds were written in *visible speech.*

Ps. 100 p. 140

THE BOOK OF RUTH, CHAP. I.

Note.—The expression of the vowel sounds in Palæotype, so far as concerns Scotch, has been already explained pp. 103–113. The consonantal signs, not having been referred to as a whole, are here arranged alphabetically (b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, t, v) have each their usual value; (dh) as in *th*at (dhæt); (dzh) =*j* in *judge* (dzhədzh); (g) as in got (gɔt); (*g*) or (gj) palatal *g*=g+y, as some pronounce *guard* (*g*aaɪd, gjaaɪd); (h) only used as an auxiliary in consonantal groups, as (ph, th, kh, sh); (ʜ) the full *h* in *h*at (hæt); (j) only an auxiliary sign of palatalization, a weakened *y* as in (kj, gj,'dj, sj); (ᴊ) a full consonantal *y* as in you (ᴊuu); (*k*) or (kj) palatal *k*=k+y, as sometimes heard in sky (*skəi*, skjəi); (kh) the simple "guttural" *ch*, *gh*, in German a*ch*, Gaelic cla*ch*an (*a*kh, klakh·ən); (*k*h) or (kjh) the palatalized guttural, in German i*ch*, Southern Scotch ne*ycht*, (i*k*h, nekjht); (k*w*h) the labialized guttural in German au*ch*, South. Sc. th*owcht*

Teviotdale. THE BUIK Ŏ RUITH (CHAP. I.).

Shetland p. 98 p. 103-117

1 Nuw, yt càm aboot ĭ the days quhan the juidgis reuwl'd, ăt the' war a dærth ĭ the laand. An' a cærten màn fræ Bæthlem Jeuwdah geade away tui beyde a quheyle ĭ the laand ŏ Moab, hym an' hys weyfe an' hys tweae suns. 2 An' the màn's neame was Eleimelek, an' thay caad the guid-weyfe Naaomie, an' the tweae càllants Mauwchlon an' Cheilion, Eaphratheytes fræ Bæthlem Jeuwdah. An' thay càm ynta the cuintrie ŏ Moab, an' baid theare. 3 An' Eleimelek Naaomie's guidmàn deyed, an' schui was læft wui the tweae laads. 4 An' thay tuik thersels weyves thræ mang the wuimein ŏ Moab, the neame ŏ the-teane was Orpah, an' the neame ŏ the-tuther Ruith, an' thay baid theare the fæck ŏ tæn (y)eir. 5 Dhàn Mauwchlon an' Cheilion deyed tui, beath the tweae ŏ them, an' the wumman was læft hyr leane, wui naither bairn nor man belangan' 'er.

Ayr (*in Palæotype*). Dhe Bjɜk ə Ruth. (*Central Group*).

1 Nuu, et-kam-əbut· 'n-dhe-dée·z, kwhɜn-dhe-dzhɜd·zhez ruult, dhaht·-dher-wɜz ə-déérth *y*-dhe-lɪaan. ʒn-ə-sɛrt·'n man bilaq·ən te-Bɛth·ləm Dzhuu·də, gjéd-əwaa· te-stɜi·-ə-kwhɜil *y*-dhe-kynt·rah ə-Moob, hem, ən-ez-wɜif· ən-ez-twaa· sanz. ʒn-dhe-nem ə-dhe-man wɜz Iləm·elek, ən-ez-gjyd-wɜifs· ném wɜz-Naoo·me, ən-dhe-kaad ez-twaa-lad·-ez Makh·lən ən-Kil·'n, :Ef·rəthɜits ə-Bɛth·ləm Dzhuu·də. ʒn-dhe-kam· ənt·l dhe-kynt·rah ə-Moob, ən-stɜi·t dheer. ʒn-Iləm·elek, Naoo·mez gjyd-man· dii·t, ən-shy wɜz-lɛft·, hɜr 'n-ɜr-twaa kɜl'nz. ʒn-dhée tak·-dhərselz wɜiv·z ə-dhe-wim·en ə-Moob, dhe-nem ə-dhe-ɹen wɜz-Or·pə, ən-dhe-nem ə-dhe-ydh·ər Ruth; ən-dhe-stɜi·t dheer dhe-fɛɛk ə-tɛn iir. ʒn-Makh·lən ən-Kil'n dii·t téé, bééth·-ə-dhem, ən-dhe-wɜm·ən wɜz-lɛft· ələn·, wy-néé·dher man nər-wéén.

IN THREE SCOTTISH DIALECTS.

(*aukwh*, thok*wht*); (lj) palatal or "liquid" *l* in Ital. *figli*, Old Sc. coi*l*year (fi·ljĭ, koo·ljɐr); (nj) "liquid" n, in Fr. re*gn*er, Old Sc. fei*n*ie (rɛnje, fe*e*njĭ); (q) used as a simple sign for (ng) in thi*ng* (thiq); (qk) = nk in thi*nk* (thiqk); (r) always trilled—properly in Scotch we should use the stronger (.r) to indicate the sharp trill; (ɹ) the vocalized Eng. *r* in roa*r* (rooɹ); (*r*) the uvular trill in French Pa*r*is (Pa*r*i)—this or often a stronger (.*r*) is the Northumberland burr or "crhoup"; (s) always as in hi*ss* (hɪs); (sh) as in *sh*e, pa*t*ient (shii, pee·shent); (tsh) = *ch*, *tch*, in *ch*ild, wa*tch* (tshəild, wʌtsh); (w) as in *w*all (wʌal); (*w*) an auxiliary sign of labialization, in (k*w*h) etc.; (y, *y*, ʏ) are vowels only, never consonants; (z) as in buzz (bəz); (zh) French *j*, in vi*s*ion, (vizh·ən). The (') indicates a vocal murmur, or imperfect vowel as heard in eate*n* (iit·'n). In Scotch it often follows other vowels making an imperfect diphthong as (m*ii*', baa', tii', bɛ'l), etc.

(*Southern Counties*). Dhe Bək ə Rəth. *Teviotdale (in Palæotype)*.

/ Nɐu, et-ka*m*-əbut· e-dhe-dèèz· k*w*hɐn-dhe-dzhədzh·iz rəuld, et-dhe·-wɐr e-dærth e-dhe-laa*n*d. En-e-sært·'n ma*n* thræ-Bæth·lem Dzhəu·də gi'd-əwèè· te-bèid·-e-k*w*hèil e-dhe-kənt·ri ə-Moob, hém en-ez-wèif en-ez-tw*ii*' sɐnz. En-dhe-m*a*nz ni'm wɐz-Elim·elek, en-dhe-k*aa*·d dhe-gədwèif· N*aa*o·mi, en-dhe-tw*ii*' kal·ənts Maak*w*h·len en-Kil·*ie*n, *Ii*'·frethèits thræ-Bæth·lem Dzhəu·də. En-dhe-ka*m* entə-dhe-kənt·ri ə-Moob, en-bed dh*ii*'r. En-Elim·elek N*aa*o·miz gədma*n*· dei·d, en-shə wɐz-læft· wə-dhe-tw*ii*' l*aa*dz. En-dhèè tək·-dherselz wèiv·z thræ-maq· dhe-wəm·in ə-Moob, dhe-n*i*'m ə-dhe-t*i*'n wɐz-Or·pə, en-dhe-n*i*'m ə-dhe-tɐdh·er Rəth, en-dhe-bed· dh*ii*'r dhe-fææ·k-ə tæn iir. ⁵ Dha*n* Maak*w*h·len en-Kil·*ie*n dei·d təə, bi'th dhe-tw*ii*'·-ə-dhem; en-dhe-wɐm·en wɐz-læft· er-li'n, wə-ne·dher bern ner-m*a*n bilaq·en-er.

(*North-eastern Group*). Dhe Bjuk ə Ruth. *Buchan (in Palæotype)*.

/ Nuu, et-hap·'nt *y*-dhe-d*éé*·z fyn-dhe-dzhiu·dzhez ruu·'lt, et-dher·-w*yz* ə-f*éé*·men *y*-dhe-laan. *Y*n-dher·-w*yz* ə-man bilaq·en t*y*-Beth·lem Dzhuu·d*é* gj*éd* t*y*-bəid ə-fəil *y*-dhe-kw*i*nt·r*é* ə-M*oo*b, h*éém* *y*n-*yz*-wəif *y*n-*yz*-tw*aa* s*éé*·nz. *Y*n-dhe-manz n*é*m w*yz* *Ei*m·elek, *y*n-dhe-k*aa*·d *yz*-wəif N*eoo*·m*i*, *y*n-dhe-tw*aa* lad·*iz* M*ee*·len yn-Kil·*ie*n, *Ee*·frethəits *fi*-Beth·lem Dzhuud*é*. *Y*n-dhe-kam· ent·'l dhe-kw*i*n·tr*é* ə-M*oo*b yn-b*éd* dh*éér* *Y*n-*Ei*m·elek N*eoo*·m*iz* man dii·t, *y*n-shi w*yz*-l*æ*ft yn-er-tw*aa* s*éé*nz. *Y*n-dhe-mer·*et* wym·en bilaq·-en t*y*-dhe-kw*i*nt·r*é* ə-M*oo*b, dhe-n*é*m ə-dhe-tin w*yz*-*Or*·p*é*, *y*n-dhe-n*é*m ə-dhe-t*i*dh·er w*yz*-Ruth. *Y*n-dhe-dwalt· dh*éér*, niir-əbut· ten iir. *Y*n-Mee·len *y*n-Kil·*ie*n b*éé*dh dii·t ti'', *y*n-dhe-wəif w*yz*-left ər-lii'n, wythut· *éé*·dher b*é*rn ər-man.

Ruth 1

Teviotdale.

1,6 Thàn schui rayse up, hyr an' 'er tweae guid-dowchters, tui gang heäme ageane fræ the laand ŏ Moab, for schui'd hàrd ĭ the cuintrie ŏ Moab, huw ăt the Loard hed luikit æfter 'ys fuok, an' gein-them breid. Seae schui geade away oot fræ the pleace ăt schui was àt, an' the tweae guid-dowchters alàng wui'r; an' thay tuik the geate tui gàng bàk tui the laand o' Jeuwdah. Thàn quo' Naaomi tui hyr tweae guid-dowchters, "Gàng away! geae bàk ylk eäne o'ye tui (y)eir ayn muther's hooss! the Loard bey guid tui-ye, ăz (y)ee've bein guid tui mey, an' tui thaim ăt's geane. The Loard grànt ăt (y)e mæ fynd ræst, ylkin o'ye ĭ (y)eir ayn hooss, wui a màn ŏ (y)eir ayn!" Thàn schui kysst them, an' thay beguid a-greitein lood an' sayr. An' thay said tyll'er "Æh but! wey'll gàng heame wui yuw, tui (y)eir ayn fuok. 11 But Naaomi said, "Turn agean, ma dowchters! quhat wàd-ye gàng wui mey for? Ym aa gaand-a-hæ onie meae bairns tui bey mæn for-(y)e? 12 Turn bàk, ma dowchters, gàng yeir ways, for aa'm ower aald tui hæ a màn. Yf aa wăs tui say, Aa've huöpe, æy, an' yf aa'd a màn thys værra neycht, an' wăs tui hæ bairns ăs weil, wàd-(y)e wait ònthem quhyl thay greuw up, wàd-(y)e staye fræ hæin' mæn for thaim? Naa! naa! ma dowchters, for aa 'm sayr væxt for yuwr seakes ăt the haand ŏ the Loard hes geane seae agean us." 14 An' thay cryed oot lood, an' gràt ageane, an' Orpah kysst hyr guid-muther, but Ruith

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Ayr. (*Pal.*).

Dhɛn shy-réé-z wy-ər-twaa gjyd-dookh·terz, fɜr-te-gjæq· əwaa-hem· fe-dhe-kynt·rah ə-Moob, fɜr-shyy·d hard tɛl y-dhe-kynt·rah ə-Moob, dhaht-dhe-Loo·rd hɜd-téén-thookht te-əz-fok, ən-gin·-dhem brid. Séé shy-gjed-əwaa· fe-dhe-plés· kwhar-shy wɜz-stop·'n, wy-ər-twaa gjyd-dookh·terz əlaq· wyy·r; ən-dhe-tɜk· dhe-wɜi te-gjæq-əwaa· bak hem te-dhe-laa·nd ə-Dzhuu·də. Dhɛn Naoo·me sed·-te ɜr-twaa· gjyd-dookh·terz, Gjæq-əwaa· bak əlk-en·-e-jə te-jər-mydh·erz hus, ən-dhe-Loord bi-gjyd·-te-jə əz-ji·-he bin-gjyd· te-mii, ən-te-dhem dhaht-s-əwaa·. Dhe-Loord gii-jə te-fən· rest béé th·-e-jə wy-ə-hus ən-ə-man e-jər-aa·n. Dhɛn-shy kest·-dhym ən-dhe-bigud· ə-grit·'n ən-grat seer seer. Gjn-dhe-sed·-te-ər Naa! naa! wi-l-gjæq·-we-jə bak te-jər-frinz·. Gjn-Naoo·mi sed, ji-man-tɜrn·mɜ-dookh·ters, kwhat-fɜr wɜd-ji-gjæq· wy-mii·? Dyy·-jə theqk aa'·l-hee one-méér· wéénz te-bii-laa·dz-te-jə? Gjæq-əwaa mɜ-dookh·terz, gjæq jər-aa·n gjet, fɜr-aa'·m faar ɜur aa·l te-hee-ənydh·er gjyd-man·. Gjn-gin aa'-shyd-see, aa'-hee-hoop·, ææ', ən-gin·-aa'-hɜd ə-man dhe-nekht, ən-hɜd-sɜnz· téé, wɜd-jə-wet·-fɜr-dhem tɜl·-dhe hɜd-grɜun ɜp, wɜd-ji-kip· fe-taak·'n mɛn, fɜr-wét·'n on-dhem·? Naa! naa! mɜ-dookh·terz, fɜr-aa'·m gai·-ən pɜt-əbut· fɜr-juur seks, dhaht-dhe-haan· ə-dhe-loo·rd hyz-gjen· seséér egjenst·-mi. Sain dhe-bigud· ə-grit·'n egjen·, ən-Or·pə kest ɜr-

Teviotdale Palæotype.

Dhan shə-rèèz-ɜp', her en-er-twii' gəd-dokwh·terz te-gaq-hjem·-əgi'n thræ-dhe-laa·nd ə-Moob, for shə-ed-hard· e-dhe-kənt·ri ə-Moob, hɜu·-ət dhe-Loord hed-lək·it æf·ter ez-fu'k, en-gin·-dhem brid. Sii' shə-gi'd əwè-ut· thræ-dhe-pli''s ət-shə wɜz-at·, en-dhe-twii' gəd-dokwh·terz əlaq· wəə·r; en-dhe-tək· dhe-gi't te-gaq-bak· te-dhe-laand ə-Dzhəu·də. Dhan kwə-Naoo·mi təə-er-twii' gəd-dokwh·terz: "Gaq-əwèè·! gii'-bak· elk-jen·-oi te-ir-èèn· mɜdh·erz hus! dhe-Loord bei-gəd tei əz-ii·v-bin gəd te-mei·, en-te-dhem· ets-gi'n. Dhe-Loord grant et-ii mæ-fend· ræst, elk·-in-oi e-ir-èè·n hus, wəə-e-man ə-ir-èè·n." Dhan shə-kest·dhem, en-dhe-bigəd· ə-grit·in lud en-sèèr. En-dhe sed-tel·er "æb·ət, wei·l gaq-hjem· wə-jɜu tə-ir-èè·n fu'k." Bɜt-Naoo·mi sed "Tɜrn-əgi'n· mɜ-dokwh·terz! kwhat·-wad-ii gaq wə-mei·-for? Em-aa gaantə-hææ· oni-mii'· bernz te-bei mæn·-for-i? Tɜrn-bak·, mɜ-dokwh·terz, gaq-ir-wèè·z, for-aa·m our aald te-hææ e-man. Ef-aa·-wɜz te-sèè· "aa·v-hwɜp·, æi, en-ef-aa·d e-man thes væ·rə nekjht, en wɜz·-te-hæ bernz ɜs-wil, wad·i wèt-on·dhem kwhəl·-dhe grəu-ɜp·? wad·i stèi thræ-hææ·in mæn for-them? Naa! naa! mɜ-dokwh·terz, for-aa·m sèèr vækst for-jɜur si'ks, et-dhe-haand ə-dhe-loord hez-gi'n sii'-əgi'n·-əz. En-dhe-krai·d ut lud, en-grat əgi'n; en-Orpə kest er-gəd-mɜdh·er, bɜt-Rəth haq bei·er. En-shə-sed, Sei, ir-gəd-ses·terz gi'n·əwè-hjem· tə·er-èè·n-fu'k, en tə·er

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Buchan (Pal.).

Dhen shi-got-ɜp· wii-er-gwid-daa·therz, ty-gjɜq-hém·-əgjén fi-dhe-kwint·re ə-Moob, fɜr-shii·d hard-tɛl· y-dhe-kwint·re ə-Moob, et-dhe-Loord hyd-luk·et eft·r-yz-fok·, yn-gin·-dhem brid. Yn shii gjed-ut· ə-dhe-plés faar-shi-wyz·, her, n-er-twaa· gwid-daa·therz wii·er, yn-dhe-tuk· dhe-gjét bak-əgjé·n t'l-dhe-laan ə-Dzhuu·de. Yn-Neoo·mi sed·-t'l-er twaa gwid-daa·therz, "Gjeq-əwaa·! yn-gje-bak· béédh·-ə-ji ty-jir-éé·n midh·erz hus! dhe-Loo·rd bi-gwid· ty-jɐ, əz-ji he-bin· ty-mii, yn-ty-dhém ets-əwaa. Dhe-loo·rd grant·-jɐ, ət-ji-me-fen· rest, elke-i·n y-jɐ, wy-ə-man· yn-ə-hus y-jir-éé·n. Səin shi-kest·-dhem, yn-dhe-roo·rt yn-grat. Yn-dhe-sed·-t'l-er, Ee·-byt! wii·l gjɜq-hém·-wy-jɐ ty-juur·-fok. Yn-Neoo·mi sed, Gjɜq-bak·-əgjén my-dakh·terz! fat wyd-ji-dii', gjaa·n wy-mii'. Ym-aai gjaan-ty-héé· oni-méér· bérnz ty·-bi mɜn·-t'l-jɐ? Gjɜq-bak·, my-da·khterz, gjɜq jir-waa'z, fər-aa'm ɜur aal ty-héé ənidh·er man. Gin-aai syd-séé·, aai-hé-hɜu·ps, aai, gin-aai syd-héé ənidh·er man dhe-nekht, yn-syd·-hé bérnz əs-wil·, wyd-ji wəit·-fər-dhem t'l-dhe-wyr grɜuən-ɜp·? wyd-ji-bəid· fi-tak'n idh·er men ty-wəit fɜr-dhem·. Naa! naa! my-dakh·terz, fɜr-aa'·m séér-vek·st on-juur əkunts· ət-dhe-haan y-dhe-loo·rd hyz-gjén-əgjén·my sé-mɜk'l. Yn-dhe-bigud· ə-grit·'n əgjén·; yn-Or·pe kest er-gwid-midh·er, byt

Teviotdale.

hàng bey 'er. An' schui said, "Sey, (y)eir guid-syster's geane away heäme tui her ayn fuok, an' tui her gôds; geae 'way yuw tui, æfter (y)eir guid-syster."[16] An' Ruith said, "O dynna treit on-us tui leeve-(y)e, or tui gàng bàk fræ cumein æfter (y)e, for quhayr-ever (y)ee gàng, aa 'l gàng, an' quhayr (y)ee beyde, aa 'l beyde; yoor fuok 'll bey maa fuok, an' yoor Gôd maa Gôd.[17] Quhayr (y)ee dey, aa 'll dey, an' bey laid ĭ the greave theare aseyde-(y)e: the Loard dui-seae an' mayr tui mey, yf owcht but death cum atwein yuw an' mey!" Quhăn schui saa, ăt schui was sæt ònna gangein wui 'r, schui gæ ower speikein tyll 'er.

19 Seae the tweaesum geade, tyll thay càm tui Bæthlem. An' quhăn thay wàn tui Bæthlem, quhàt but the heäle toon was yn a steir aboot-them; an' quo' thay, "Ys thys Naoomie, thynk-wey?"

20 An' schui says tui-them "Dynna caa mey Naaomie, caa-meh Maarah, for the Almeychtie hes dealt wui-meh værra bytterlie.

21 Aa geade oot fuw, an' the Loard hes browcht-meh heäme tuim: huw wàd-(y)e caa-meh Naaomie, syn the Loard hes wutnest ageane-meh, an' the Almeychtie hes gein-meh sayr truble?"

Seae Naaomie càm heäme, an' Ruith the Moabeytess, hyr guid dowchter, wui 'r, hyr ăt càm oot ŏ the cuintrie ŏ Moab; an' quhăn thay càm tui Bæthlem, yt wăs aboot the fuore-end ŏ the baarlie hærst.

Ayr (*Pal.*).

15 gjyd-mydh·er ən-gjed-əwaa·, bæt-Ruth hæq tee·ər. ʒn-shy-sed. "Lək·-sii jər-gjyd-sys·ter hyz-gjen-əwaa· bak tə-ər-fok· ən tə-ər-goo·dz, gjæq juu əwaa· eft·r-ər. ʒn-Ruth·-sed, Dən·ə aask·-mə tə-gjæq-əwaa·-fe-jə, or tə-tærn-bak·, ən-noo gjæq·-wy-jə, fær kwhar-yv·er juu gjæq, aa'l gjæq, ən-kwhar-juu· bæid aa'l bæid; juur fok æl-bii-maa' fok ən-juur good maa' goo·d. Kwhar juu dii, aa'l dii, ən-bi-led· y-dhe-jərth əsɪi·d-jə. ʒn-dhe-loo·rd dyy· ty-mii æs-mæk·l, ææ', ən-méér téé, ef-on·e-theq bæt-ðéth pérts-es. Kwhæn shy-saa·-dhaht shy-d-fee·-rlí med-æp·-ər-mæin· te-gjæq wyy·-ər, shy læft-af· spik·'n-tee-ər.

19 Séé dhe-twaa· gjed-on· tæl-dhe-kam tə-Bɛth·ləm, ən-kwhæn dhe-wan· tə-Bɛth·ləm dhe-héél tun wæz-en· ə-stiir· əbut·-dhem; ən-dhe-sed· tə-jen-ənydh·er, "Ez dhat Naoo·me!" ʒn-shyy sed-ty·-dhem Dén·ə kaa-mii· Naoo·me, byt-kaa·-mí Maa·rə, fær-dhe-Almekh·tí hæs-delt·-wí-mí gæi·ən bet·erlí. Aa' gjed-ut· fuu, ən-dhe-loo·rd hæz-bræq·-mí hem·-əgjen tym; kwhæt-wæi· wæd-jə-kaa·-mí Naoo·me-dhyn, syn-dhe-Loo·rd hyz-tɛs·tifiit əgjenst·-mí, ən-dhe-Almekh·tí hæz-bin-séér·-on-mí?

Séé Naoo·me kam-bak·, ən-Ruth dhe-Moo·əbəites ər-gjyd-dookh·ter əlaq·-wyy-r; hær·-ət kam-ut·-ə dhe-kynt·rah ə-Moob·; ən-kwhæn-dhe-kam· te-Bɛth·ləm, et-wæz-niir-baa' dhe-foor·-een·-ə dhe-baar·le héérst.

Teviotdale (*Palæotype*).

goodz; gi'wèè· ɪəu təə, æf·ter ir-gəd-ses·ter." En-Rəth·-sed, Oo, den·ə trit on·es te-liɪ·v-i, or-te-gaq-bak· thre-kəm·in æf·ter-i, for kwher-ev·er ii gaq, *aa*·l gaq, en kwhèèr-ii· bèid; *aa*·l bèid; Juur fu'k·-'l-bei ma*a*·-fu'k, en Juur good m*aa* good. Kwhèèr-ii· dei *aa*·l dei, en-bei-led· e-dhe-gri*i*'v dh*ii*'r əsèid·i: dhe-loo·rd də-s*ii*' en-mèèr te-mei·, ef-okwht bət-d*i*'th kəm-ətwin· ɪəu-en-mei·!" Kwhən-shə-s*aa*· ət-shəə-wəz-sæt· on·ə-gaq·in wəə·r, shə-gæ-ou·r spik·in-tel-er.

S*ii*' dhe-tw*ii*'·səm gi'd, t'l-dhe-kam· te-Bæth·lem. En kwhən-dhe-wan· te-Bæth·lem, kwhat·-bət dhe-ɪəl tun wəz-en·e stii·r əbut·dhem; en-kwə-dhèè·, Ez-dhes· Naoo·mi, theqk·we?" En-shə sez-te·dhem, "Den·ə k*aa* mei Naoo·mi, k*aa*·me M*aa*·rə, for dhe-almekjh·ti ɪez-d*i*'lt·-wə-me vær·e bet·erli. *Aa* gi'd-ut· fəu, en-dhe-loo·rd ɪez-brokwht·-me ɪəm təm: ɪəu·-wəd-i k*aa*·me Naoo·mi, sen-dhe-loo·rd ɪez-wət·nest əgi'n·-me, en-dhe-almekjh·ti ɪez-gin·me sèèr trəb'l?

S*ii*' Naoo·mi kam-ɪəm·, en-Rəth dhe-Moo·əbèites ɪer-gəd-dokwh·ter wəə·r, ɪer·-et kam-ut·ə dhe-kənt·ri ə-Moo·b; en-kwhən-dhe-kam· te-Bæth·lem, et-wəz-əbut· dhe-f*uu*'·r-ænd·-ə dhe-b*aa*·rli ɪærst.

Buchan (*Pal.*).

Ruth w*y*d·ne gjeq-əw*aa*· f*ii*·er. *Y*n-shi-sed·, Luk, ɜir-gwid-ses·ter ɪ*y*s-gjén-bak· t'l-er-*éé*n·-fok, *y*n-t'l-er-g*oo*·dz, gjeq-ii· bak eft·r-er. *Y*n-Ruth·-sed, De·ne sik·m*y* t*y*-gjeq-əwaa·-f*i*-ju, or-t*y*-gjeq-bak·-f*i*-folə·en-ju, for faar ii gjeq, aa'l gjeq tii', *y*n-faar ii bə*i*d, aa'l bə*i*d, Juur·-f*o*k-'l-bii· maa*i*·-fok, *y*n-Juur G*oo*d maa*i* G*oo*d. Faar ii dii aa'l dii, *y*n-bi-byr·*i*t dh*éé*r tii', dhe-l*oo*·rd dii-s*éé* t*y*-mii, *aa*i, *y*n-m*éé*r tii', gj*i*n-əkht· b*y*t-d*e*th· pert Juu *y*n-mii. F*y*n-shi-saa·, ət-shi-wyz-bent· *o*u-gjaa·n-wii·er, dhen shi-gj*e*-ɪu·ər spik·'n-t'l-er əbut·*i*t.

S*éé* dhe-gjéd-*o*n· dheg*i*dh·er, t'l-dhe-kam t*y*-Beth·lem. *Y*n-f*y*n dhe-kam t*y*-Beth·lem, dhe-ɪ*éé*l tun w*y*z *y*n-ə-stiir· əbut·-dhem; *y*n-dhe-sed·, K*y*n-dhes·-bi N*eoo·mi*? *Y*n-shi·-sed t*y*·-dhem, Den·*e* k*aa* mii N*eoo·mi*, k*aa*·m*y* Maa·r*é*, fər wil-a-wəit· dhe-almekh·t*i* ɪ*y*z-delt·-w*y*-m*y* bet·erl*i* *y*nju·kh. Aa' gj*é*d-ut· fuu, *y*n-dhe-l*oo*·rd-z brokht·m*y* ɪ*é*m t*yy*m: fuu k*aa*·-m*y* N*eoo·mi*, sen-dhe-l*oo*·rd-z wət·nest əgj*é*n·-m*y* *y*n-dhe-Almekh·t*i* ɪ*y*z-bin s*é*-s*éé*r· ɪpo·-m*y*?

S*éé* N*eoo·mi* kam-ɪ*é*m, *y*n-Ruth dhe-M*oo*·əb las ɪer-gwid-dAA·ther wii·er, ɪer-*y*t-kam·f*i*-dhe-kw*i*n·tr*é* *y*-M*oo*·b; *y*n-dhe-kam· t'l-Beth·lem 'n-dhe-bigen·en ə-dhe-baa·rl*i* ɪ*éé*'rst.

(*Continuation in Southern Counties Dialect*).

Chapter II.

2.1 An' Naaomie hed a freind bey hyr guid-màn's seyde ŏ the hooss, a rowthie màn
duian' weil ĭ the wòr'lt, an' eäne ŏ Eleimelek's kyn; an' thay caa'd 'ym Boaz.
2 An' Ruith the Moabeyte làss said tui Naaomie, "Læt's gàng oot òntui the hærst-
ryg neh, an' gæther the heids ŏ cuorn ahynt òuie ăt aa mæ fynd greace ĭ ther
seycht." An' schui said tyll'er, "Gàng (y)eir ways, ma làssie."3 An' schui geade
oot, an' càm an' beguid a gætherin' òuna the hærst-ryg ahynt the scheirers, an'
ăz hàp wad hæ'd, dyd-n' schui leycht on a byt ŏ the feild ăt wăs Boaz's, hym ăt
wăs eäne ŏ Eleimeleks ayn kyn.
4 Aweil thăn, Boaz càm oot fræ Bæthlem, an' says tui the scheirers, "The
Loard bey wui-ye!" An' thay aansert bàk, "The Loard blyss-(y)e!"5 Than Boaz
says tui the greive ăt wăs stàn'an' ower the scheirers, "Quheae's auwcht thys làss
thăn?"6 An' the greive ăt stuid ower the scheirers tælld 'ym, an' said, "Thàt's
the Moabeyte làss, ăt càm bàck wui Naaomie fræ the laand ŏ Moab;7 an' schui
àxt-us, 'Aa bæg o'ye, læt-us gæther ahynt the scheirers, amàng the stooks.' Scae
schui càm, an' hes bydden heir fræ the muornin' tyl duist eenuw, ăt schui baid
a wee quheyle ĭ the hooss."8 Thàn Boaz said tui Ruith, "Heir (y)e, ma làss,
dynna gàng tui gæther ynna òuie uther feild, nor gàng away fræ heir avaa, but
beyde heir cluoss aseyde maa maydens.9 Keip (y)eir ein òuna the feild ăt thay're
scheiran', an' gang ahynt-them; hæv-n' aa chairget the laads nô tui fasch-(y)e;
an' quhan (y)e're drye, gàng tui the càns, an' teake a drynk ŏ quhatever the laads
tuim oot."10 Thàn schui fæll doon ònna 'er feace, an' buw'd 'ersel tui the grund,
an' said, "Huw ys't ăt aa've fund greace ĭ (y)eir seycht, for (y)e tui teake nuotice ŏ
mey, syn aa'm eäne ŏ the fræmd."11 An' Boaz tælld-'er, an' said tyl-'er, "Aa've
bein luitten kæn the heäle stuorie, aa' huw (y)ee've duin tui (y)eir guid-muther syn
the deathe ŏ (y)eir ayn màn, an' huw (y)e've læft (y)eir faither an' muther an' the
laand ŏ (y)eir byrth, an' cumd heir amàng a fuok ăt (y)e kænnd nowchts aboot afuore.
12 Mæ the Loard requeyte (y)eir dui'ins an' a heäle rewaird bey gie'n-(y)e fræ the Loard
Gôd ŏ Ysrel, ăt (y)e've cumd tui lyppen (y)eirsel anunder 'ys wyngs!"13 Thàn schui
said, "Læt mey fynd fayver ynna (y)eir seycht, ma luord! for (y)e've comfortit-us,
an' spòken hærtsum wurds tui (y)eir haand-mayden, athoa aa'm noa tui bey coontit
leyke òuie eane ŏ (y)eir maydens."14 An' Boaz tælld'er, "At meale-teymes cum
fòrrat, an' teake a beyte ŏ the breid, an' dyp (y)eir peice ĭ the vynniegar." An'
schui sàt doon aseyde the scheirers, an' hey raaxt'er bye ruostit cuorn, an' schui
eitit 'er fyll an' geade 'er ways. An' quhan schui'd rys'n up tui gæther, Boaz
chairget the laads, an' said, "Læt 'er gæther fòrrat amàng the scheives, an' dynna
challinge 'er. An' læt faa' a næffŭ nuw an' thàn wullantlie for 'er, an' dynna
fynd faat wui'r. Seae schui gæthert òn ĭ the feild tyl neycht, an' schui thruisch
oot quhat schui hed gæthert, an' yt meade the fæck ŏ tweae haffuw ŏ baarlie.
18 An' schui lyftit it up, an' geade 'er ways ynta the toon; an' 'er guid-muther saa
quhat schui hed gæthert, an' schui browcht oot an' gæ 'er quhat schui hed læft
ower, æfter schui hæd aneuwch. An' 'er guid-muther àxt 'er, "Quhayr hæ-ye
bein gætheran' the-day? an' quhayr hæ-ye w'rowcht? Blyssins onna hym ăt hæs
teane nuotice o'ye. An' schui luit hyr guid-muther kæn quheae yt wàs ăt schui
hed gæthert wui, an' says schui, "Thay caa the màn Boaz ăt aa was wurkan' wui
the-day." An' Naaomie said tui 'er guid-dowchter, "Blyssins òn 'ym fræ the
Loard, ăt hæs-na gie'n ower 'ys keyndness tui the leivan' an' the deid." An'
Naaomie tælld'er, "The màn's a nærr freind ŏ oor ayn, eäne ŏ oor neist ŏ kyn."
An' Ruith said, "Hey tælld-us tui, '(y)ee mæn beyde cluoss aseyde maa laads, tyl
thay 've duin wui aa' maa hærst.'" An' Naaomie said tui Ruith, hyr guid-
dowchter, "Yt's weill fòr-ye, ma dowchter, tui gang alàng wui hyz maydens, ăt
thay mæ no meit wui-ye yn òuie uther feild." Seae schui stàk cluoss be Boazis
maydens, an' gæthert, tyl the baarlie hærst an' the quheit hærst was beath duin.
An' schui baid wui 'er guid-muther.

Chapter III.

Thàn Naaomie, her guid-muther, said tyl 'er, "Ma dowchter, mæn-n' aa seik a heäme for ye, ăt (y)ee mæ dui weill? Nuw ys-n' Boaz eäne ŏ oor ayn kyn, hym ăt (y)e was aseyde 'ys maydens. Look-ye, hey's deychtan' 'ys baarlie the-neycht ĭ the bærn-fluir. Wæsch-yersel than, an' ræd-yersel up, an' pyt on (y)eir guid clease, an' slyp doon tui the bærn, but dynna meake-yersel kænnd tui the màn, tyl hey's duin wui eitin' an' drynkin.' An' quhan hey lyes doon, (y)ee mæn teake nuotice ŏ the pleace quhayr hey lyes, an' gang yn, an' lyft the hàp òff hyz feit, an' lye doon; an' (y)e'll sey ăt hey'll tæll-(y)e quhat (y)e're tui dui." An Ruith says, "Aa'l dui aa'thyng ăz (y)e tæll-us."

6 An' schui geade doon tui the bærn, an' dyd aa ăz hyr guid-muther hed budden 'er. An' æfter Boaz hed eiten an' drukken, an' 'yz hært was merrie, hey geade an' lay doon ayownt a hòt ŏ cuorn; an' schui càm slyppan' yn værra caanie, an' lyftit the hàp off hyz feit, an' laid 'ersel doon. An' aboot the myddle o' the neycht, the màn was feir'd, for hey turnt 'ys-sel, an' theare was a wumman lyan' at hys feit. An' hey says, "Quheae's thàt?" An' schui says, "Yt's mey, (y)eir haand-mayden Ruith; spreid (y)eir hàp ower (y)eir haand-mayden, for (y)e're a nærr freind."10 An' hey says, "Blyssin's on (y)e fræ the Loard, mă dowchter! for ye've schaa'n mayr ynnerlieness ăt the hynder-ænd ăz ăt the fyrst, syn (y)e hæna run æfter yung mæn, naither puir nor rytch. (An' nuw, mă dowchter, hæ neae feirs; aa 'l dui for-(y)e aa' ăt ye wànt; for aa' the fuok ŏ oor toon kæns ăt (y)e're a deacent wumman. An' (y)e're reycht aneuwch, aa ym a nærr freind; but for aa' thàt, ther's eäne a neirer nŏr mey. Wait aa' neycht, an' wey'll sey ageane muornin', yf hey'll dui a freind's pairt bey-ye—weill an' guid: let hym dui the freinds pairt. But yf hey'll noa dui the freinds pairt bey-ye, thàn as suir az aa'm leivan', aa 'l dui the freind's pairt bey-ye; lye styll tyll day-leycht."

14 An' schui lay ăt hys feit tyll the muornin', an' schui rayse afuore yt was leycht aneuwch for eäne tui kæn anuther. An' hey said, "Dynna læt wut ăt a wumman hæs bein ĭ the bærn." An' hey said forbye thàt, "Bryng the vail ăt ye've òn, an' hàd-it." An' quhan schui hæld it, hey mezzert oot syx wæychtfŭ baarlie, an' hælpit 'er 'on wui'd; an' schui geade ynta the toon. An' quhan schui càm tui 'er guid-muther, schui said, "Quheae yr (y)ee, ma dowchter?" An' schui geade ower aa' ăt the man said tyll'er, an' schui said, "Hey gæ's thyr syx wæychtfŭ baarlie tui, for hey said, "(Y)e mænna gang away tuim-hàndit tui yeir guid muther." Than Naaomie says, "Syt styll, ma dowchter, tyll (y)e sey huw the maitter 'll ænd; for the màn 'll noa bey ăt ræst, tyll hey hes wun ăt the boddum o'd the-day."

Chapter IV.

1 Thàn Boaz geade up tui the puort, an' sàt doon theare: an' the freind, ăt Boaz spak ŏ, càm bye; an' hey cryed tyll 'ym, "Haye! syc'n-a-leyke eäne, stæp ower thys way, an' syt doon heir." An' hey stæppit acròss an' sàt doon. Thàn hey tuik tæn mæn ŏ the ælders ŏ oor toons, an' said, "Syt (y)ee doon theare." An' thay sàt doon. Thàn hey says tui the freind, "Naaomie, hyr ăt's cumd bàk fræ the laand ŏ Moab, 's sællan'a byt grund ăt belàng'd tui oor bruther Eleimelek. An' aa thowcht aa wad læt-ye kæn o 'd, an, caa' on-ye tui bye 'd afuore the reasidænters, an' afuore the ælders ŏ oor toons-fuok. Yf (y)e're gaan'-a-bye'd bàk, dui-sceae: but yf (y)e dynna ættle tui bye'd up, thàn tæll-mey, an' aa'll bye'd bàk, for ther' neane tui bye'd bàk but yuw, an' mey æfter (y)e." An' hey says, "Aa'll bye 'd."5 Thàn says Boaz, "But meynd, the day ăt (y)e bye the feild off the haand ŏ Naaomie, (y)e'll hæ-tui-bye'd tui fræ Ruith the Moabeyte wumman, the weyfe ŏ hym at's geane, tui keip up the neame ŏ the deid ynna the ayrskep."

6 An' the neist ŏ kyn said, "Thàn aa cànna bye'd for masel', for feir aa spoyle ma ayn ayrskep; (y)ee'd bætter bye up ma reycht fòr (y)eir-sel, fòr aa cànna bye'd." Nuw, the way thay uist-tui dui ĭ the days ŏ aald ynna Yzrel, anænt byein', an' anænt cowpin', for tui meake aa-thyng syccar, was thys: a màn puw'd òff 'ys schui, an' gæ'd tui hys neiber; an' thys was the seyne ăt a bàrgain was meade, yn Yzrel.8 Seae the neist o' kyn said tui Boaz, "Bye'd for (y)eir-sæl," an' he puw'd òff hyz schui.

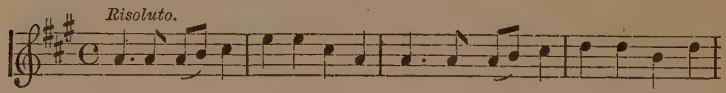
9 An' Boaz said tui the ælders an' tui aa' the fuok, "(Y)e're aa' wutnessis thys day, ăt aa've bowcht aa' ăt was Eleimelek's, an' aa' ăt was Cheilion's an' Mauwchlen's, ȯff the haand ŏ Naaomie. An' Ruith the Moabeytess tui, ăt was Mauwchlon's weyfe, aa've bowcht tui bey maa weyfe, tui keip up the neame ĭ the deid ower hys ayrskep, ăt the neame ŏ hym ăt's geane bynna luost fræ mang 'ys kyn, an' fræ the puorts ŏ hys ayn toon; (y)e 're aa' wutnesses, the-day!" An' aa the fuok ăt was aboot the puort, an' the ælders, said, "Wey're wutnessis: mæ the Loard meake the wumman at's cumman' ynta (y)eir hooss, leyke Ræychel an' leyke Leaäh, the tweae ăt byggit up the hooss ŏ Yzrel; an' mæ (y)ee dui weill yn Eaphraatah an' bey faimus ynna Bæthlem. An' mæ yuwr hooss bey leyke the hooss ŏ Phaarez ăt Taamar hæd tui Jeuwdah, wui the bairns ăt the Loard gie's (y)e fræ thys wumman."

13 Seae Boaz tuik Ruith, an' schui was hys weyfe; an' æfter thay war mairriet, schui turnt wui bairn, an' schui buir 'ym a sun. An' the wuimein said tui Naaomie; "Blyssin's tui the Loard ăt hæsna læft-(y)e the day, athoot eane ŏ (y)eir ayn, ăt 'ys neame mæ bey faimus yn Izrael. An' hey'll meake-ye leive (y)eir leyfe ower agean leyke, an' hey'll teake cayr o'ye quhan (y)e're aald, for (y)eir guid-dowchter hes gie'n byrth tui 'm, ăt leykes ye seae weill, an' 's bætter tui-ye ăz seiven suns." An' Naaomie tuik the bairn, an' laid it ynna hyr buosem, an' schui was a nurse tyl 't. An' hyr neiber wuimein gæ'd a neame, an' said, "Ther's a sun buorn tui Naaomie; an' thay caa'd hys neame Obed; an' thys was the faither ŏ Jesse, an' the grân' faither ŏ Daavyt.

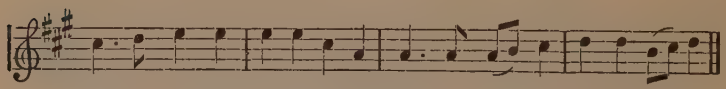
18 Thyr's the genòligies ŏ Phaarez; Phaarez gàt Heazron, an' Heazron gat Ram, an' Ram gàt Aminadab, an' Aminadab gàt Nachshon, an' Nachshon gàt Saalmon, an' Saalmon gàt Boaz. An' Boaz gàt Obed, Obed gàt Jesse, an' Jesse gàt Daavyt.

THE AIR OF TYR-IBUS.

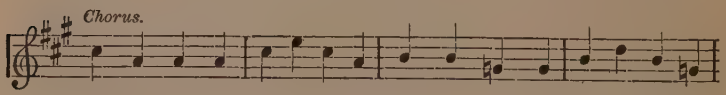
This air, referred to at p. 18, is here given, accompanied by a verse of the modern ballad.



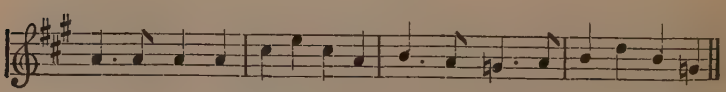
Sco-tia felt thine ire, O O-din! On the blood-y field of Flod-den;



There our fa-thers fell with honour, Round their king and country's banner.



Tŷr-hæb-us ye Tŷr-ye O-din, Sons of he-roes slain at Flod-den,



Im-i-tat-ing Border Bowmen, Aye de-fend your Rights and Common.

INDEX

OF SUBJECTS AND WORDS SPECIALLY REFERRED TO.

A, an, 179.
aafu', 226.
aand, owing, 121, 217.
Accent and quantity, 96, 97.
Adjectives of number, 172; of quality, 166; plural forms of, 57.
Adverbs, 236.
all, a', aw, 122.
allerbest, alderlast, 164.
Alone, 228.
als—as, 226.
an = if, 230.
an aa', 226.
Anglo-saxon and Scotch vowels, 142.
ane, history of, 55, 180.
as = than, 169.
as = as, 226.
at = that, 26, 194.
aucht = belonging, 193, 217.
auchtand, auchten = eighth, 173.
avaa', 226.
away, expletive, 227.
Auxiliary Verbs, 215.

Barbour, language of, 34; claimed to write "Inglis," 42.
Barony Forth dialect, 27.
be, verb, conjugated; 219; in Cleveland, 214.
be and *bye*, 229.
be = than, 169.
Bellendean's *Livy*, 61.
Bible, first edition in Scotland, 66.
bid, byd, bud, 218.
big, 170; *big-hoose*, ibid.
bit, 177.
both, baith the twae, 175.
brether, 159.
Burr, the Northumberland, 86.
but and ben, 229.
bye, adverbial, 227.

Caltraeth, battle of, 8.
callant, 177.
can, cuid, 216.
Celtic border, 232.
Celtic and Saxon names of Scottish kings, 14.
Celtic words in Lowland tongue, 54.
chamber, chalmer, 123.
Charter of 1100, 22; of 1389, 91.
childer, 159.
Collective nouns considered plural, 162.
Comparison of Adjectives, 167.
Complaynt of Scotland, 48, 64.
Conjunctions, 230.
Consonants, 118.
Craft of Deying, specimen, 36.
Cumbria, Cumberland, early extent, 6.
cumd, cumen, 201.
Cursor Mundi, 31.

D and *th*, confused, 121.
Danish and Non-Danish Northumbria, 86.
Danish invasions created Saxon Scotland, 11.
daur, daar, 217.
Demonstratives, 179; in Cleveland dialect, 186.
deuill, deil, 130.
Dialects of Lowland Scotch, 78, 237.
Diphthongs, 113; in Middle Scotch, 53.
do, auxiliary, 68; conjugated, 219.
dow, 217.
drunk, drukken, 201.
Dunbar, William, 42, 44.

each, 177.
Earliest Scottish prose, 91
Early poetical fragments, 28.
Easter and *Wester*, 168.
eat, eit, 204.
Edinburgh ceded to Scotland, 13.
een-now, eenow, 227.
either, neither, 177.
els = already, 227.
enough and *enow*, 175.
euyl, ill, 130, 170.

F for *Wh*, 79.
fae=*frae*, 228.
farrant, 121.
feck, 177.
Forth, old frontier of Scotland, 2.
Flemish element on East Coast, 79.
Fordun on Scottish and Teutonic, 43.
for aa', 228.
forquhy, *forthy*, 226.
French words in Scotch, 58, 59.
frae, 228.

gaitt, *goat*, 161.
-gate, adverbial, 226.
Gawain Douglas's Eneid, 46.
gaye, 178.
General Rules for Quantity, 97.
Gerund distinct from Participle, 81, 211.
give, *gie*, *gis*, 205.
go, *gang*, double stem, 210.
great and *small*, 171.
grytt, *intimate*, 171.
Guttural *ch*, *gh*, in North of England, 87, 88; in Scotland, 117.

Hampole, language of, 37, 39.
hanlaquhyle, 178.
hantle, 178.
have, *hae*, 219.
huz=*us*, 188.
hynder, 168.

I, *ik*, *ic*, *ich*, 188.
Identity of Scotch with Northern English, 5, 29.
ilk, 177.
ill, 130, 170.
Interjections, 230.
Imperative Mood, plural of, 214.
it, *'t*, *'d*, 189.

James IV. as a linguist, 45.

Kn still pronounced, 122.
Knox, language of, 66.

Latinized words, 61.
leap, *lowp*, 206.
leeze me, 130.
len, *lend*, 205.
let, *lute*, *lutten*, 200.
lie, *lig*, 206.
Length of Scotch vowels, 97.
Limits of Gaelic and Lowland tongues, 231.
Limits of Southern dialect, 84, 85.
Lothian and Galloway "out of Scotland," 2.
Lyndesay, language of, 47.

mae, and *mair*, 172.
mæ, *may*, 217.
make, *mak*, *ma*, 206.
ma-n-ain, 198.
maun, *mæn*, 217.
me, *mik*, 188.
'mhm=yes, 228.
mo, *more*, 172.
muckle and *little*, 170.

Negative, forms of, 228.
neh, *now*, precative, 230.
nor=than, 169.
Norse of Caithness, 80; in England and Scotland, 25.
Northumberland, old extent of, 6.
Numerals, 172.

O, *one*, 173.
one, dialects of, 179; as an affix, 198.
other=*each other*, 177.

Participle present in *-and -ant*, 210.
Perfect Tense, primitive form of, 222.
Phonetic relations of Scotch, 141.
pibroch, 54.
pickle, *puckle*, 177.
Plural of nouns, 150; of adjectives in *-s*, 57; of verbs in *-s*, *-es*, 211.
Pockmanty preaching, 72.
Poetical fragments, early, 28.
Possessive case, 163.
Prepositions, 228.
Present tense of Northern Verb, 211.
Preteritive verbs, 201, 215.
Pronouns, personal, 187; possessive, 192; interrogative, 192; relative, 194.
Put, 200.

Quantity, words expressing, 177.
Quantity of Vowels, 97.
Quh-, sound of, 118.
Quhein, *wheen*, 178.
Quheyl=*till*, 229.

Relative *at*, 26, 194; analytical forms of, 196.
Ruthwell Cross, 17, 20.

S for *sh*, 127.
sair, 168.
sall, 216.
Scotland, old limits of, 2.
Scotch pronunciation of English, 138.
Scotch and French *u*, 149.
self, *sel*, 198.
send, 200.
set, *suit*, *suitten*, 200.
Sh for ch, 80, 85; for *S*, 126.
since, *sin*, *syne*, 227.
small, 171.

so, 226.
Spelling of Modern Scotch, 75; used in this work, 98.
St. Kilda, language of, 236.
such, 175.
sum in *threesum*, etc., 174.
take, *tak*, *ta*, 202.
Terminations, 133.
Th initial, 128; lost initially, 26.
thae, *thas*, 122.
than after Comparative Degree, 169.
than = then, 227.
that = so, 226.
the day, *the morn*, 227.
the gether, 227.
the now, 227.
these and *those*, 183.
the tane, *the tother*, 176.
thing, as an affix, 198.
thir, *thirs*, 184.
this and *that*, 181; used as plurals, 81
thocht, *thô*, 230, 228.
thon, 186.
thræ = *fræ*, 228.
til = to, 229.
to-day, *to-morrow*, 227.
together, 227.
twaesum, *threesum*, 174.
Týr hæb'us, 18.

Ulster, Scottish Gaelic in, 236.
Unaccented syllables, 133.
unco, 169.
us, used in the singular, 188.
use, auxiliary, 218.
V, elided, 130.
Verbs, strong, 201; weak, 199; list of, 203; forms of, 215; Auxiliary, 215; simple tenses, 209; full conjugation of, 220; Passive Voice, 225.
Vernacular words in old Scottish laws, 23.
'Visible Speech,' Alphabet, 99.
Vowels, 104.
Vr for *Wr*, 130.

W mute initial, 131.
wait, *wat*, *wut*, 217.
wean, *wain*, 77.
what'n, *what kin*. 193.
whae's aucht, 193.
wheen, 177
whilk, 193.
who, *wha*, as Relative, 69; forms of, 91.
wlisp, *wlonke*, 131.
wool, *'oo'*, 113.
wr- pronounced, 130.
wull, *wyll*, 216.
Wyntown, language of, 33.

Y, mute initial, 131.
Ye and *you*, 189.
yon, 186; *yonder*, 226.

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